

**ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED**

274.2 B95h
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey 1873978
History of King Eadmund the
Martyr...
STORAGE

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

ML



STO

**ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED**

1873978
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

MS. 197

SAINT EADMUND
OF EAST ANGLIA

THE HISTORY OF
KING EADMUND

THE MARTYR

AND OF THE EARLY
YEARS OF HIS ABBEY

Edited by

LORD FRANCIS HERVEY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD

1929

1873978

SAINT EADMUND
OF EAST ANGLIA
AND HIS ABBEY

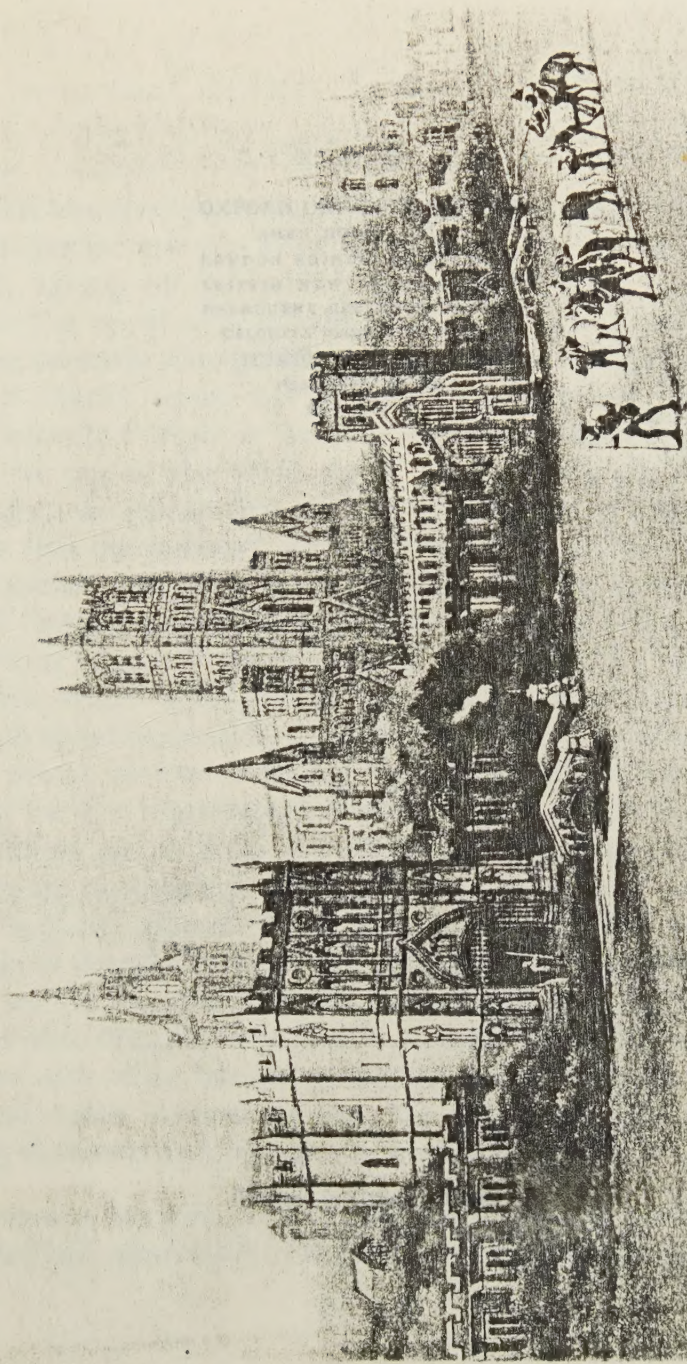
CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF ABBEY BUILDINGS

187378

SAINT EDMUND
OF EAST ANGLIA
AND HIS ABBEY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

<https://archive.org/details/historyofkingead0000lord>



CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF ABBEY BUILDINGS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW

LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO

MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE

UNIVERSITY

Printed in Great Britain

PROEM

NINE hundred years have passed away since Cnut, fully established on the English throne, and, as he styles himself, 'King of the whole island of Albion, and exalted to the royal seat of many other nations' granted to the then recently founded Benedictine house at Beaduricesworth a charter which by its introductory words, 'In nomine Poliarchis' became famous, and was treasured by the monks as one of the most signal marks of kingly favour and enfranchisement that they ever acquired. It may be thought that the moment is opportune for the publication of a little-known fragment extracted from MS. 197 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which bears upon the earliest years in the history of S. Eadmund's Abbey. This MS., which belonged to Bury Abbey, and contains a copy in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin of the Rule of S. Benedict, was, it seems, also used during a great part of the eleventh century for the registration of sundry items interesting to the brethren, not so much from a disciplinary or devotional, as from an economical point of view. It is these entries which form the subject of the present volume. The text of the Rule is thought to be of the period of Cnut, and may be as old as the foundation of the Abbey in A.D. 1020, having perhaps been brought from Hulme, the parent establishment, together with other books, vestments, and equipment. The historical notes, inventories, &c., are of several later dates ranging downwards to about A.D. 1100.

Expression has from time to time been given to a wish for the systematic excavation of the site of S. Eadmund's Abbey.

At Glastonbury, Rievaulx, Byland, Furness and elsewhere, work of this kind has been, or is being done ; and it may be justly contended that Bury, with its proud traditions, the grandeur of its ancient buildings, and its intimate connexion with momentous events in English history, is not less deserving of scientific and respectful exploration. Perhaps the renewed mention of the establishment and early growth of the celebrated Benedictine Convent, and the rehearsal of its patronage by Cnut, Eadward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, under the Abbots Uvius, Leofstan, and Baldwin, may stimulate the desire to restore to view the vestiges, now in great part buried under mould and turf, of the splendid pile which for many ages was the chief glory of Eastern England.

The Editor desires to record his thanks to the President and Fellows of Corpus for leave to use the MS. in their possession, and to Miss Senior of Oxford for a transcript and translation of the Anglo-Saxon entries which follow, as well as for the notes which she has appended to the text, and for her obliging explanation of doubtful and difficult points.

Anniversary of the Translation of S. Eadmund.

April 29, 1929.

CONTENTS

Conjectural restoration of Abbey Buildings	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PROEM	v
TEXT IN CORPUS MS. 197 AND TRANSLATION	2
EXCURSUS	
I. Parentage, birth, and reign of S. Eadmund	11
II. His martyrdom and burial	13
III. Veneration by King Ælfred and removal of his body to Beaduricesworth	15
IV. His posthumous life	17
V. Scene of his death and first place of burial. Early incidents of his Cult. The secular Canons	20
Æthelred, Swegen, Cnut	27
VI. Ejection of secular priests. Introduction of Monks.	32
VII. Uvius, First Abbot, 1020-44	33
VIII. Leofstan, Second Abbot, 1044-65	38
IX. Demoralization of the English after Eadgar's reign	43
X. Baldwin, Third Abbot, 1065-97	46
Appendix	59

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(MS. C.C.C. 197.)

Fol. 105. mxx. Hic denique presul Ælfwinus sub comite Thurkillo constituit regulam monachorum sancti Eadmundi in monasterio, et sub voluntate licentiaque Cnutoni regis permanet usque in presens.

mxxxii. Hic sub Cnutono rege constructam basilicam beate memorie archi-presul Ægelnothus consecravit in honore Christi et sancte Marie sanctique Eadmundi.

[fo. 106 v.] ^{hic instat} Her stent ða forwarde ðe æþeric worhte wið þan abbode on niwentune. þæt is .iii. sceppe mealtes 7 healf sceppe hwæte. an slæg ryðer .v. scep .x. fliccen. 7 .x. hund hlafe. þæt sceal beon zære. on pridie nonas septembris. Leofstan abbod doð to þis fermfultum. an sceppe malt. 7 .iii. hund hlafe. 7 .vi. fliccen. 7 oþer .vi. to fyllincge. into þan ealdan fyrme. 7 .x. cesen. 7 eallswa mycel Brihtric preost. 7 eallswa mycel leofstan buton .x. cesen wane. 7 Ðurstan syflincge to iii hund lafe. 7 twezen oran into kycene. 7 Brihtric .xvi. peninzas.

On elsing tun hundred ah scē eadmund .xxvii. manslot. On spelhoze hundred .xlv. manslot. On in hundred .x. manslot. On fuweleze hundred healf ehteþe¹ manslot. On ænehogo hundred .xxv. manslot. On clencware hundred healf ehteþe manslot. On lynware hundred .v. manslot. Fram aþolfes suð tun. to álde walbec. Fram watlinge tun norð into sæ. ah scē eadmund landesdæle. mid his landemacan.

[fo. 107 r.] Ures drihtnes hælendes cristes freo náma á on ecnyssa sy gewurþod þe ængla wuldor heap him sylfum to wyrðscipe ge-gearawode. 7 eac manna wynsumlic wlita. æfter his | azenan anlicnessan gehywlæhte. syllende heom genihtsumlice geofa

¹ / interlined.

TRANSLATION

MX. In this year at length Bishop Ælfwine with earl Thurkill's assent established the rule of the monks of Saint Eadmund in the monastery; and with the goodwill and permission of King Cnut this continues to the present time.

MXII. In this year the basilica erected under King Cnut was consecrated by Archbishop Æthelnoth of blessed memory to the honour of Christ and Saint Mary and Saint Eadmund.

This is the agreement that Ætheric made with the abbot at Niwentune; that is, three skeps¹ of malt and half a skep of wheat, an ox for slaughtering, five sheep, ten flitches, and ten hundred loaves. This shall be ready on the day before the nones of September. Abbot Leofstan adds to this a contribution of provisions: one skep of malt and three hundred loaves and six flitches, and another six to make up the old rent, and ten cheeses; and Brihtric the priest the same amount, and Leofstan the same, with the exception of ten cheeses, and Thurstan seasoning² for three hundred loaves, and two oras³ for the kitchen, and Brihtric sixteen pence.

In the hundred of Elsington S. Edmund owned twenty-seven manslots,⁴ in Spelhoge hundred forty-five manslots, in In hundred ten manslots, in Fuwelege hundred seven and a half manslots, in Ærnehogo hundred twenty-five manslots, in Clencware hundred seven and a half manslots, in Lynware hundred five manslots. From Atholfes Suthtun to old Walbec, from Watlingetune north to the sea, S. Edmund owned shares of land with his neighbours.

The blessed name be praised to all eternity of our lord saviour Christ, who made the glorious company of the angels for his glory, and fashioned also the pleasant forms of men after his own likeness,

¹ *skep*: a definite measure of wheat, &c.

² i.e. condiment eaten with food.

³ *ora*: Danish money of account, worth in 11th cent. about 20 pence.

⁴ *manslot*: This may be a definite measure of land, but probably means one man's share of the produce of land farmed or held in common; see A. S. Napier, *Contributions to Old English Lexicography*, s. v.

heofonas 7 eorþan. swa he nudazum breotan rices fægtran
 izlandes. Eadwearde cynce sealde 7 zeuþe. ealswa he æror
 geara his mazum dyde. ðæra wæs sum æpel 7 wurðful scē
 eadmund gehaten. 7 se mid criste sylfum nu eardað on heo-
 fonum.

Betæhte nu cincz se goda eadward 7 se wurðfulla his
 mæzes mynstere on bæderices wyrðe leofstan abbode. þæt
 he bewiste þæt þæt þær wære inne 7 ute. 7 he þa þær þus
 mycel funde .x. bec inne ðæra circean .iiii. cristes bec 7 i
 mæsse boc 7 i pistelboc. 7 .i. salter. 7 .i. godspell boc. 7 .i.
 capitularia. 7 scē eadmundes uita. In madm hus .xii. mæsse
 hácelan. 7 nigon cantercæppa 7 .iiii. roccas. 7 .vii. stolan. 7
 .xxxiii. pella. 7 .ix. weofod sceatas. 7 .xv. superumemale zeren-
 ode. 7 .xxv. alba. 7 .vii. set rægl. 7 .xiii. wahrægl. 7 .iii. ryzc
 rægl. 7 .ii. scufrægl. 7 .v. calices. 7 .iii. offring clapas. 7 .vii.
 corporale. 7 .ii. storscylle. 7 .iii. marmar stan zesmiðede. 7
 .iiii. scrinan. 7 .xiii. rodan. Blahere hæfð .i. winter rædingz
 boc. Brihtric hæfð .i. mæsse reaf calix 7 disc 7 .i. mæsse boc.
 [fo. 107 v.] 7 winter rædingz boc. 7 sumerboc. | Siuerð hæfð an mæsse
 reaf. 7 an mæsse boc. 7 Leofstan an handboc. Æþeric an
 mæsseboc. 7 capitularia. Ðurstan an psalter. Oskytel hæfð
 an mæsse reaf. 7 an mæsse boc 7 an Ad te leuau. On scē
 eadmundes byrig beoð .xvi. hida eorðes landes .vi. hida into
 þæra byrig 7 þa .x. hida manna earninga land. On wirlinga
 weorðe lið anes monðes ferme mid þan berwica saham. On
 pallegrafeanes monðes ferme mid þorpa. On redzgrafe anes
 monðes ferma. On ricyncza hale anes monðes ferma mid sto-
 ca 7 brocaforde. On byrtune anes monðes ferma. On ruh-
 ham. anes monðes ferma. On elmes wella anes monðes
 ferma. mid wulpettas 7 zrotene. On koccefelda anes monðes
 ferma mid ceorles weorðe. On hwipstede anes monðes ferma
 mid bradefeldæ. On horningas earðe anes monðes ferma. mid

giving them gifts abundantly, heaven and the earth. As he in these days gave and granted to king Edward the fair island of Britain, so he long ago did to his ancestors, amongst whom was one, noble and good, called S. Edmund, and he now dwells with Christ himself in heaven.

Now the good and worthy king Edward entrusted his kinsman's church at Bædericeswyrthe to abbot Leofstan, for him to take charge of whatever was there, both inside and out. And he found there thus much: ten books in the church, four gospels and one missal and one book of Epistles and one psalter and one gospel-book and one capitulary and S. Edmund's 'Vita'. In the treasury, twelve cloaks and nine copes and four upper garments and seven stoles and thirty-three costly robes and nine altar-cloths and fifteen ornamented super-humeral and twenty-five albs and seven seat-cloths and thirteen wall-hangings and three mantles and two hoods (?)¹ and five chalices and three offering-cloths and seven corporals and two censers and three worked pieces of marble and four shrines and fourteen rods. Blahere has one winter lectionary. Brihtric has one mass-vestment, a chalice and paten and one missal and a winter lectionary and a summer-book. Siverth has a mass-vestment and a missal, and Leofstan a manual, Ætheric a missal and capitulary, Thurstan a psalter; Oskytel has a mass-vestment and a missal and an *Ad te levavi*.

In S. Eadmundesbyrig are sixteen hides of plough (?) -land, six hides within the town and ten hides freehold land. In Wirlinga-weorthe, with the hamlet of Saham, lies one month's provision,² in Pallegrafe a month's provision, with Thorpe, in Redgrafe a month's provision, in Rycingahale, with Stoca and Brocaforde, a month's provision, in Byrtune a month's provision, in Ruhham a month's provision, in Elmeswella a month's provision, with Wulpettas and Grotene, in Koccefelda a month's provision with Ceorlesweorthe, in Hwipstede a month's provision with Bradefeldæ, in Horningasearthe

¹ I cannot find anything resembling this word in the A.-S. dictionaries.

² ? = enough land to produce or bring in as rent this amount.

ryse bi. On lecforde anes monðes ferma. mid hyrningc wylle
On runcze tune anes monðes ferma. mid culeforde 7 mid
fornham.

Her syndon .xxx. boca. ealre on leofstanes abbodes haf-
ona. butan mynsterbec.

On paccenham anes monðes ferma mid stantune.

[fo. 108 r.] hic in stat conscriptum quid inuentum fuerit apud eggemere post quam
Her onstent gewriten hwæt man funde æt eƷgemere syððan
cole eam dimisit hoc est seofene boues & ahte uacce & fower pascuales uituli
cole hit let. Ðæt is .vii. oxen. 7 .viii. cy. 7 .iiii. feld hrypera.
& equi uiles & quinquies uiginti oues & fiftene oues inte &
7 .ii. stottas. 7 .v. scora scæp. 7 .xv. scæp under ealde 7 iunge
& octies uiginti agri seminati & an bacun & an porcus & fower & twenti casei.
7 .viii. score æcere Ʒesawen. 7 .i. flicce 7 .i. swin 7 .xxiiii. cesen.

Her stant Ʒewriten hwæt Baldwine abb.^{or} hæfð Ʒeunnen
his Ʒebroþra to caritatem þæt^{twera} is .ii. mylne Ʒafel æt lacforde.
hælf pund æt þæt^{oran} án 7 .xii. æt þæt oþer. þæt healf¹ pund we
sculan habban æt natiuitatem sanctæ mariæ. 7 ^{oran}ða vi. æt scē
dionisius messe. 7 .ui. æt ^{oran}scē nicholaus. 7 þær sculan eac .ii.
fætte swyn up arisan to smolte. oððe .iii. oran.

Ðis is seo caritas þe baldwine abbod hæfð Ʒeunnon his Ʒe-
broðrum for eadwardes sawle þæs Ʒodan kynƷes. þæt is healf
pund æt his ƷearƷemynde to fisce. to þan forewardan þæt hi
hine þæs þe oftor Ʒemunon on heora Ʒebedreddene. 7 healf
pund to þan timan ealswa ic hider com to mynstre .xiiii.
kalendas septembris. 7 stande þis pund æfre on Ʒodes est 7 on
scē eadmundes cume her to se þe cume. to minon ƷearƷe-
mynde. þis feoh sceal arisan of ixewyrðe þe lið into paken-
hame. Æt ViƷges gearimynd abbodes we sculan habben
half pund to fisce. 7 feowerti. peninzas. to mede. 7 .ii. mett
hwæte. 7 þæt sceal risen of lecforde.²

¹ / interlined.

² Here follow various Latin entries on f. 108 v.

one month's provision, with Rysebi, in Lecforde a month's provision with Hyrningcwyll, in Rungetune a month's provision with Culeforde and with Fornham. (Here are thirty books, all in the possession of abbot Leofstan, except minster books). In Paccenham a month's provision, with Stantune.

Here is written what was found at Eggemere after Cole left it; that is, seven oxen¹ and eight² cows and four³ field oxen and two stots and five score and fifteen sheep, with old and young, and eight score sown acres and one flitch⁴ and a pig and twenty-four⁵ cheeses.

Here is written what abbot Baldwin has granted his brethren as an alms: that is, two⁶ mill-rents at Lacforde, half a pound at one and twelve oras at the other. The half pound we are to have at the nativity of S. Mary and six oras at S. Denysmas, and six oras at S. Nicholas, and also two fat pigs shall be provided for lard, or three oras.

This is the bequest that abbot Baldwin has granted his brethren for the soul of the good king Edward: that is, half a pound at his commemoration-day for fish, in order that they shall remember him the oftener for this in their prayers; and half a pound at the time I came to the monastery, fourteen [days before] the kalends of September; and may this pound stand ever in God's grace, and S. Edmund's, for whoever comes here on my commemoration-day. This money is to be forthcoming from Ixewyrthe, that lies in Pakenhame.

At the commemoration of abbot Wig, we are to have half a pound for fish, and forty pence for mead, and two measures of wheat, and this shall be forthcoming from Lecforde.

¹ Gloss: seven

³ Gloss: four.

⁵ Gloss: four and twenty.

² Gloss: eight.

⁴ Gloss: one bacon.

⁶ Gloss: two.

[fo. 109 r.] Ðis is scē eadmundes ferme on byrtune .iiii. met maltes
under masc 7 grut. halmet hwæte.¹ an ryðer 7 .ii. swin .iiii. c es
.xx. hennen. Of ruham ealswa mycel. 7 of redgraue ealswa.
Of pakenham 7 Of stantune easlwa mycel. Of elmeswelle
7 of wulpet 7 of ȝrotene ealswa. Of herningwelle 7 of cune-
gestune ealswa mycel. Of palegraue 7 of ðorpe ealswa mycel.
Of horningeseorðe 7 of risby ealswa micel. Of kokefelde 7
of ceorleswurðe ealswa micel. Of hwepstede 7 of bradefelde
ealswa mycel. Of wyrlingwurðe 7 of saham ealswa mycel.
Of rungetune. 7 of culeforde 7 of fornham ealswa mycel. On
brokeforde 7 of rikingehale ealswa mycel. Of tifteshale .i.
met maltes under masc. 7 grut.² 7 .i. lepene hwæte. 7 feorð-
endæl an ryðer 7 an half swin 7 an ȝos 7 .v. hennen.

Ðis is scē eadmundes . . .

¹ There is an erasure here.

² Erasure.

This is S. Edmund's rent in Byrtune: four measures of malt, with mash and grains, a half-measure of wheat, an ox and two pigs, four geese, twenty hens. From Ruham the same amount, and from Redgrave likewise, from Pakenham and from Stantune the same amount, from Elmeswelle and from Wulpet and from Grotene also, from Herningwelle and from Cunegestune the same, from Palegrave and from Thorpe the same, from Horningeseorthe and from Risby the same, from Kokefelde and from Ceorleswurthe the same amount, from Hwepstede and from Bradefelde the same, from Wyrtingwurthe and from Saham the same, from Rungetune and from Culeforde and from Fornham the same, in Brokeforde and from Rikingehale the same amount. From Tifteshale, one measure of malt, with mash and grains, and one basket of wheat and a quarter-ox and half a pig and a goose and five hens.

This is S. Edmund's...

Ad anniversarium diem depositionis regis Willelmi constituit dominus Abbas Balduuinus ut nobis eodem die ad pitantiam dentur quoque anno x solidi, et in die obitus regine eiusdem scilicet Mahalde tantundem idem x solidos, ex debito perpetuo adaugere nobis censuit.

Ut certitudo sit unde hac pecunia, scilicet xx solidi, debeant omni anno reddi ad opus fratrum, ipsemet dominus abbas in pleno capitulo coram omnibus confirmavit quod de (werkentune¹) manerio quod ipse rex W. pro anima regine prefate dedit scto eadmundo solveretur: dignum scilicet judicans ut fratribus in illorum anniversariis in victu aliquid melius fiat. quorum mentionem ante deum ipsi in orationibus suis frequentius et ut ita dicam sine intermissione celebrare non trepidant.

Ad anniversarium depositionis dicti regis Edwardi constituit idem supradictus Abbas fratribus suis x solidos ad pitantiam ut devotius ejus anime memoriam habeant. Constituo etiam ego Baldwinus abbas in perpetuum tenendum ut quicumque post me veniat abbas x solidos ad diem anniversarium mei adventus abbacie in data xiiii Kal. Septembris. Isti xx solidi debent dari de ixeuorde que pertinet ad Pakenham.

Ad anniversarium Vuij abbatis debent fratres habere x solidos ad pitantiam et iii solidos et iiii denarios ad medonem. et ii misuras frumenti [?] et hec dantur de Lacforde. hanc caritatem constituit abbas B. ad nativitatem Sancte Marie scilicet x solidos, et viii solidos ad festum Sancti Dionysii et iiii solidos ad festum Sancti Nicholai, et super hec ii porcos pingues aut iiii solidos ad saginam. Istud totum dabitur de duobus molendinis de Lacforde. quorum i. reddit x solidos, et alterum xvi solidos.

¹ Werkentune above the line.

EXCURSUS

SECTION I

THE life and the reign of Saint Eadmund, King of East Anglia, were short, and, stripped of legend and fiction, the mistaken or fanciful accretions of ages, may be shortly told.

He was born in or about the year A. D. 841, perhaps at Norbury, near Croydon in Surrey, and belonged to a family of distinction in the western part of Kent. His father was Ealhhere, a Dux or Ealdorman who at one time was styled even King of Kent. His mother was Eadith, daughter to Ecgberht, the great King under whom the whole of England was for the first time united as a single realm. Eadith was sister to Æthelstan, who during Ecgberht's lifetime was Sub-King of East Anglia, and after Ecgberht's death became King of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, whilst Æthelwulf, probably half-brother to Æthelstan, succeeded to the West Saxon throne.

Ealhhere seems to have had an elder son named Eadweald, and a daughter named Ealawyn, perhaps also other children. He had two brothers, Abba who was a Reeve in Kent, and Æthelweald. There is also mention of one Freothmund (Fremund) who was related to Abba as son or nephew.¹ There is a metrical legendary life of Fremund in Latin by William of Ramsey, and there is another in English by the poet Lydgate, a monk of S. Eadmundsbury Abbey.

From Eadmund's infancy England was harassed by incursions of the Danes, and in the fighting which ensued the home forces were often worsted. But in 851 Æthelwulf, a melancholy and ambiguous figure who seems to have wavered between war service with Ealstan the martial Bishop of Sherbourne and church service with S. Swithun the pious Bishop of Winchester, gained a signal success over the Danish raiders in Surrey, and Æthelstan in conjunction with Ealhhere routed the enemy at Sandwich. In a fresh conflict, however, two years later Ealhhere with the men of Kent, and Huda

¹ See Searle's *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, Camb. University Press, 1899, p. 386, and Thorpe's *Diplomatarium*, Macmillan, 1865, p. 471.

with the men of Surrey, were defeated in the Isle of Thanet, and both Ealhhere and Huda were killed in the battle. Æthelstan does not appear in history under that name after the battle of Sandwich, but there are strong reasons for identifying him with that East Anglian King to whom the name of Offa is given by Geoffrey of Wells, a writer of the twelfth century who compiled a memoir of Eadmund's early years. Old English names were a puzzle and stumbling-block to post-Conquest scribes, and the letters 'th' were specially baffling to them. A popular nickname for Æthelstan would be Ætha, and this by a 'Norman' might very likely be spelt Æffa. Confusion of Offa with Æffa would then be easy. If this be granted, we become acquainted with Æthelstan's last days. With the intention of visiting the holy places in Palestine he quitted East Anglia, of which he had been King for some five and twenty years or more, and on his way called on his brother-in-law Ealhhere, then holding the title of King, in Kent. During his stay he was so impressed by the grace and charm of young Eadmund that, having no male heir of his own, he designated the boy as his successor to the Crown of East Anglia. Æthelstan did not live to return to England, and Eadmund, still a stripling, was chosen King by the nobles and people of Norfolk and Suffolk. A year is said to have been spent by the young King at Attleborough in preparation for the duties of sovereignty, and on Christmas Day, 856, Eadmund was crowned King by Humbert, one of the two East Anglian bishops, at Bures, then a royal town, but now a not very considerable village on the banks of the River Stour which forms the boundary between Suffolk and Essex.

Ten years followed during which, so far as extant records serve us, East Anglia appears to have enjoyed peace, and during those years Eadmund established that character for just and beneficent rule, and for integrity of life, upon which his biographers in succeeding ages delighted to dwell. But in 866 the unwelcome pirates from Denmark appeared again and in great numbers. They landed at Lynn in Norfolk, and spent the winter in that district. The next year, having bargained with the inhabitants for a supply of horses, they rode away northwards. In the autumn of 870 they returned, not peacefully, but as ferocious marauders. While Hubba, one of their

chieftains, marched from Yorkshire with part of the Danish host, Inguar, the brother of Hubba, brought the remainder by sea. His fleet approaching from the north-east, 'a boreali parte orientali', as Abbo of Fleury attests, came to shore near the mouth of the river now known as the Alde, at a spot then probably called Ora, that is, bank or shore, but in later times named Orford.

SECTION II

If a brave death be Valour's utmost meed,
To us of all men fortune this decreed;
Eager to place on Hellas freedom's crown
We fell—but earned unageing fair renown.

After SIMONIDES.

The invaders at once began to burn, plunder, and slay. What followed may best be understood from the perusal of an anonymous chronicle once belonging to the Priory of S. Neots, compiled about the middle of the twelfth century or a little later. This chronicle has absurdly been described as the 'Annals of Asser', the biographer of King Ælfred. By Mr. Freeman,¹ it is spoken of as 'a forgery'. It is in fact a genuine compilation by an author who besides making use of Asser's *Life of Ælfred*, and Abbo's *Life and Martyrdom of S. Eadmund*, had access to some continental sources of information, and also possessed some knowledge of local traditions not elsewhere recorded, as for instance that the Danish King Guthorm Æthelstan was buried at Hadleigh in Suffolk. If a conjecture may be hazarded as to the name of the writer, it may be recalled from the pages of Jocelin de Brackland that, when a deputation of monks from Bury Abbey waited upon King Henry II on the occasion of Samson's election to the Abbacy in 1182, the King desired that three names of monks not belonging to Bury should be submitted to him. Among the three who were nominated in compliance with the King's order, was Master H., Prior of S. Neots, 'a monk of Bec, a man highly religious and very circumspect in spiritual as well as temporal affairs'.² If 'Master H.' was known to have interested himself in the story of S.

¹ *Old English History*, 1901, p. 121.

² *Jocelin's Chronicle*, edited and translated by Sir Ernest Clarke, 1903.

Eadmund, this circumstance, in addition to his other qualifications, would readily account for the nomination of him by the delegates.

However this may be, the compiler of the S. Neots chronicle, relating the death of Eadmund, gives us a more distinct view of the actual occurrence, and of the fighting which took place between the Danes and the East Anglians, than can be obtained elsewhere. It is made clear that the first clash of arms was between Inguar's sea-borne followers and the King's levies. The Danes won the day, and by a rapid pursuit overtook and captured or received the surrender of Eadmund. Called upon to abjure the Christian faith, he steadfastly refused; he was bound to a tree by his captors, beaten, and used as a target for their javelins (some say arrows), and finally decapitated.

Meanwhile, the Danes under Hubba's command, after marching through Mercia, entered East Anglian territory from the west. It is likely that they seized Thetford, and then 'reduced to submission', as the S. Neots chronicle narrates, 'the neighbouring country, because all the bravest and noblest of the East Anglian people had met a cruel fate either with, or before, the saintly King himself'. If this account be accepted as correct, it enables us to discard the legend according to which Eadmund gave battle to his enemies at Thetford and thence retreated to Hoxne. We see that the fatal encounter happened near Orford, perhaps in the region of Tangham forest or Capel S. Andrew's, and hence we get an explanation of Herman's assertion that the King was buried at a hamlet called Sutton 'close to the scene of his martyrdom'. The village of Sutton is in fact very near to Tangham and Capel. It may be significant that the Domesday name of Capel is Capeles, i. e. chapels, in the plural,¹ for Robert Mannyng or Le Brun, in his English expansion of Pierre Langtoft's French poem, says

Ther thei fonde the hede is now a faire chapelle,
Oxen hate the toun ther the body felle,
Ther wher he was schotte another chapelle standes.

¹ See Skeat, *Place-Names of Suffolk*, p. 120.

SECTION III

After the murder of King Eadmund, and of the venerable bishop Humbert, who fourteen or fifteen years before had officiated at his coronation, the Danes retired apparently to their ships at the river's mouth, and the local folk made search for the body of their leader, and for his head which the Danes in departing had thrown into the forest. These were found, and were committed to the earth. All authorities are agreed that the first place of sepulture was of very humble aspect. Abbo speaks of a 'basilica' of mean construction, 'aedificata vili opere desuper basilica' (the word seems to be incongruous and misplaced), while Herman mentions an exceedingly diminutive bede-house, 'domuncula orationis super eum habita prae parvissima'. This is not surprising. The conquest of East Anglia by the Danes, sturdy Pagans, was complete, and for nearly nine years afterwards, as Florence of Worcester tells us, that country was subject to no king, but lay exposed to pillage and utter spoliation at the hands of the heathen Danes, 'direptioni atque nimiae dilacerationi'. Some mitigation of the misery of the native inhabitants no doubt resulted from the rule of the Danish chieftain Guthrum, or Guthorm, who in 878, after his defeat by Ælfred, and the consequent pact of Wedmore or Chippenham, having embraced Christianity became king of East Anglia, with the name of Æthelstan, in nominal subordination to Ælfred as his overlord.

But the ascendancy of the Danes was still too galling, and the conversion of the foreigners was too superficial, for any effective or public veneration of a Christian martyr or an English champion, and so matters remained till late in the reign of Ælfred. A change then followed which synchronizes with the crowning efforts made by Ælfred to counter the naval superiority of the Danes by the establishment of a powerful fleet. An episode is introduced by Denis Pyramus in his poem 'La Vie Saint Edmund le Rez', according to which when the Danes, after being driven by Charles the Bald from Normandy, came again to assail and conquer England, their design was frustrated by Saint Eadmund, who smote them with a dire

pestilence.¹ Ælfred, the poet continues, gratefully acknowledged the intercession and merits of the martyr, and venerated him ;

Le corseint, tant cum il vesqui,
Ama, honura, e cheri.

But Ælfred did not rest there. It is an almost inexplicable fact that, during two generations since Ecgberht was first compelled to resist a Danish raid, practically no attempt had been made by the English to meet the invaders at sea. In the time long past their forefathers, when they came over from the Continent to win their island home, were noted and feared for their reckless courage and almost more than human skill as navigators, but, with the lapse of centuries, their love of the sea and of the mariner's calling appears to have died out, so that the British coasts and harbours lay helplessly exposed to hostile forays. Æthelwulf seems not to have had a fleet. Neither had Eadmund. Ælfred himself had none of any importance till 897 when he remodelled his navy on lines of his own choice in order to cope with his enemies.

It was just about this time that Ælfred caused coins to be struck on which Eadmund is styled 'Saint'. Some of these may be seen in the British Museum. There were two reasons, it is likely, for doing special honour to the East Anglian King ; one, that he had fallen after a gallant struggle as a champion of the Christian faith, the other, that he was of the blood of the West Saxon royal house, and thus was esteemed as a national hero. It is not clear that Abbo of Fleury in describing Eadmund as being of the noble stock of the 'Old Saxons' meant the stock of the Continental Saxons ; but, if that was his meaning, it might be explained by supposing that Ecgberht, during the thirteen years of his exile in early life at the court of Charles the Great, had contracted with some Saxon lady a marriage of which his son Æthelstan and his daughter Eadith were the issue.

From the monastic chronicles we gather that somewhere about the end of Ælfred's reign there occurred at the lowly grave of the martyr a miracle by which a blind man recovered his sight. The fame of this miracle and other supernatural manifestations led to a resolve on

¹ Arnold, *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls Series, vol. ii, pp. 233-4.

the part of the East Anglian folk to provide for the martyred king a more worthy place of sepulture. The spot chosen was Beaduricesworth, now Bury S. Edmunds, in the western part of Suffolk, and there a wooden church of wonderful construction was erected for his reception. To this church, in due course, the body was translated, with comely ceremony and amid public rejoicing.

Thus, after an interval, it may have been of thirty years, it may have been longer—it was in any case an interval of neglect and oblivion—during which, as William of Malmesbury relates, ‘the humble resting-place was overgrown by brambles, and the inhabitants of the district lost all recollection of the martyr’, commenced what may be called the posthumous life of S. Eadmund.

SECTION IV

It is essential to realize that henceforth, to the minds not only of kings and clergy and nobles, but also of the people, the Saint was a living and active presence and force, in his own kingdom, and far beyond its limits. They deemed that he was endued with power, partly beneficent, partly retributive, on the one hand to befriend and assist his votaries, and on the other to foil and punish his adversaries. Cases are recorded in plenty of his activity in both respects. The sudden death of Cnut’s father Swegen was attributed to the spear or dagger of S. Eadmund himself. Abbot Samson ascribed his rescue in early childhood from the clutches of Satan to the timely interposition of the Saint. Mariners in distress at sea regarded him as a protector hardly second to S. Nicholas. Miracles of healing or deliverance from death by accident are almost past counting. A vivid example of the fear inspired by S. Eadmund as a jealous vindicator of his dignity is given by Jocelin de Brackland when referring to the measures taken to gather money required for the ransom of Richard Cœur de Lion from his captivity in Germany. ‘There was no treasure in England that had not either to be given up or redeemed, yet the shrine of S. Eadmund remained untouched. However, the question was raised before the Justices of the Exchequer whether the shrine of S. Eadmund should not, at least in part, be stripped for the ransom of King Richard. But the Abbot (Samson) standing up

answered, "Know ye of a surety that this never shall be done by me, nor is there a man who can compel me to consent to it. But I will open the doors of the church; let him enter who will, let him approach who dares." Each of the justices replied with oaths, "I will not venture to approach it." "Nor will I." "S. Eadmund grievously punishes those who are far off as well as those who are near at hand; how much more will he inflict vengeance upon those who take away his vesture?"¹ Not less dramatic is the story, told in the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (vol. ii, p. 667) of the dream or vision by which King Edward I was scared on the occasion of his seizing about the year 1291 the Liberties of S. Eadmund's Church, as well as of other ecclesiastical establishments. Every prelate in the land was putting up the best fight he could for his abbey or cathedral, John of Northwold the then Abbot of S. Eadmund's being one of the most active. Wearied by his efforts, and despairing of his ability to resist further the exactions of the Court, he gathered together the charters of privileges granted and confirmed by Kings, and exhibited them in Parliament at Westminster. Then he turned to King Eadward, and said, 'My Lord and King, here are the charters which your predecessors granted to S. Eadmund, here are the privileges which you have wilfully revoked and withheld. I am worn out with age and toil spent in defence of them. I can struggle no more. So I place the issue between Eadmund the Martyr and you my earthly lord for decision by the Supreme Judge.' Night came on; the King sought repose in the quiet of his couch. Suddenly a vision occurred to him, terrified by which he leaped from his bed, calling for his guard, and shouting that S. Eadmund was making another Swegen of him, 'ipsum alterum regem Suanum . . . faceret puniendo'. With all speed he caused a proclamation to be made that any of his servants who had violated the privileges, should repair to the Court without delay. 'For', he declared, 'Saint Eadmund had raised his standard.' It is needless to multiply instances. Herman's and Samson's treatises teem with them, as does also the great Codex Bodley 240. One further example of the time of Henry VI may, however, be cited. In the abbreviated 'Life and Martyrdom of Saint Eadmund the King', which is con-

¹ Jocelin's *Chronicle*, ed. Sir Ernest Clarke, 1903, pp. 146-7.

tained in the Curteys Register, now in the British Museum, is a passage due, it may be assumed, to the dictation of Abbot Curteys himself, where it is said of the Saint that after his triumphant martyrdom he was deemed worthy to win an unfading crown from the Almighty, 'with whom he lives and reigns and commands, daily performing great miracles on behalf of those who devoutly and humbly implore his aid'. This carries us down to about the middle of the fifteenth century.

For the detailed proofs of the narrative given above of the life of S. Eadmund reference may be made to the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, (John Murray, 1907), where the authorities are marshalled approximately in chronological order, so as to show the growth of the legend from the earliest bald statements of fact. The evidence of coins, and a survey of Church and Chapel dedications, are also brought to bear upon the questions involved, and it is shown that, where Saxony is mentioned in connexion with S. Eadmund, its original meaning was that part of England which was colonized by Saxons, and that confusion with Continental Saxony was of later date.

We may distinguish four periods in the legend of S. Eadmund between his ill-fated struggle with Inguar and the dissolution of his monastery in 1539:—

1. From 20 November 870 to the day when the King's body was removed from its first resting-place to Beaduricesworth (later Bury S. Edmunds) early in the tenth century ;
2. from the time of that removal to the substitution in the reign of Cnut (1020) of Regular for Secular Custodians of the shrine and relics ;
3. A. D. 1020 to the fresh translation of the body to the magnificent temple erected by Abbot Baldwin A. D. 1095 ;
4. thenceforward to the surrender of the Abbey with all its accumulated estates, privileges, and jurisdictions, to Henry VIII, 4 Nov. 1539.

SECTION V

Οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες.

'Though dead, they have not died'. SIMONIDES.

Θνήσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς αγαθοὺς.

'Say not that the righteous die'. CALLIMACHUS.

1. The date of S. Eadmund's death is certain. As to the place where it occurred there is room for doubt. The account given by Abbo of Fleury, based upon the recollections of Archbishop Dunstan, as these in turn were founded upon the testimony of a very old man who claimed to have been the King's armour-bearer on the fatal day, was put into writing about A.D. 985. In this account mention is made of a village and a wood known as Haegelisdun, or Haglesdun, (Arnold, *Memorials of S. Eadmund's Abbey*, vol. i, pp. 10 and 16). In a marginal note Mr. Arnold, following old usage, treats this village as being identical with Hoxne, but Abbo does not say anything of Hoxne. There is not at the present time in Suffolk any place bearing the name of Haegelisdun, but the village so called by Abbo was 'ab urbe longius', at some distance from the city, and Mr. Arnold in a footnote says 'that is, from Bures, an inland village on the River Stour, where Eadmund had been crowned. But the 'urbs' to which Abbo refers is clearly from the context that 'urbs' or 'civitas' which Inguar's fleet had just reached on its southward voyage, and which his crews had sacked and burned. Now this town, it is stated by a later writer, Denis Pyramus, was Orford, a port on the south-eastern coast of Suffolk, and it may be noted that Mr. Arnold in vol. ii of his *Memorials*, p. 196, appears to accept Orford and to discard Bures. A suggestion made by Mr. Arnold (vol. i, p. 9) that Lynn was the port at which the Danes landed on this occasion must be dropped. There is no warrant for it.

About A.D. 1098 Herman, who had been Archdeacon under the East Anglian Bishop Herfast or Arfast (1070-1084), but subsequently became a monk of Bury, wrote a treatise on the Miracles of S. Eadmund. In this work, which is still extant, perhaps in the original script of the author, Herman, while making no specific mention of Haegelisdun, though he alludes to Abbo's *Life and Martyrdom of S.*

*Eadmund*¹ testifies that, according to the 'relata maiorum', i.e. established tradition, the body of the martyr was entombed (mausoleatus), in a hamlet (villula) called Sutton, close to the scene of his martyrdom. Sutton is on the bank of the River Deben, at some little distance from Orford.

Here, therefore, we have a definite statement in a formal treatise, written after inquiry into the subsisting evidence; and Herman had the advantage of written as well as oral testimony. His statement does not conflict with the earlier narrative of Abbo, or with any other ancient authority such as Ælfric's almost contemporary Old English rendering of Abbo's *Vita et Passio*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or Asser's *Life of Ælfred*. It is, moreover, entirely congruous with the account which names Orford as the place at which Inguar came to shore.

But at some period later, it may be but a little later, than the compilation of Herman's treatise, a legend appears that the place of S. Eadmund's death and first burial was at Hoxne, a township near the centre of the northern boundary of Suffolk, and in old times a 'sedes episcopi', an episcopal see or place of residence. This legend comes to light in a charter, purporting to have borne the date A.D. 1101, granted by Herbert of Lorraine Bishop of Thetford, who transferred the East Anglian See to Norwich. The original charter is not extant, and as in an 'Inspeximus', or Recital Charter of the reign of Henry II the words which associate the death of S. Eadmund with Hoxne do not occur, it must be regarded as very doubtful whether Bishop Herbert's own charter contained them. These words, 'ubi idem martyr interfectus est' (where the said martyr was killed), may have been inserted in the copy by the scribe, perhaps for controversial reasons, as the relations between the Bishops of Norwich and the Abbots of Bury were at times very strained. To illustrate this supposition, it may be noticed that in the Bury Register of the Sacrist, fol. 24 (quoted by D. Battely, p. 146), the scribe has introduced into the text of a letter written by William I to the Earl of East Anglia on the occasion of the defeat of the attempt made by Bishop Arfast to place his See at Bury, certain words which do not appear in the

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 28.

letter as set out by the annotator of Bodley 297.¹ These words to the effect 'that neither Arfast nor any of his successors shall have any claim against the Church and Town of Bury', seem to have been inserted as a sort of cock-crow over the discomfiture of the Bishop.

Or it may have been that some hazy tradition existed that S. Eadmund's body at one time rested at Hoxne, either on its passage from its first burial-place to Beaduricesworth, or on the occasion of its wanderings in the custody of the monk Æthelwine during the Danish raid between A. D. 1010 and A. D. 1014. But more probably some confusion had arisen between the word Hoxne, or one of its many variants, as Oxa, Hoxa, Hoxana, all of which are to be found in Domesday Book, and Ora, Ore, Hore, Oran, or Horne. In support of this hypothesis Skeat's *Place-Names of Berkshire* may be consulted. Under the title of Boxford, pp. 44-5, it will be found that the old name of Boxford was Boxore or Boxora. It is also spelt Boxhore and Bocheshorne. Of Windsor again (pp. 82-3) old spellings are Windlesoran and Wyndeleshore. It is a not unimportant circumstance that with regard to the place of S. Eadmund's interment, though Roger of Wendover has Hoxe, Matthew Paris has Hore, and Bodley 240 in one passage has Horne. It is worthy of remark also that Orford is not mentioned by name in Domesday Book, and, as the configuration of the coast has been much altered, the ford may not have been formed in the ninth century, when the Danes forced their boats into the creek.

In whatever way the Hoxne legend originated, and though there is no question of its acceptance in the thirteenth century and afterwards, even by the monks of Bury Abbey, and it still has currency, it is submitted that the tale is fable and not history.

The time at which the translation from Haegelisdon to Beaduricesworth was effected is also the subject of conflicting statements. Mr. Arnold, ostensibly on the authority of Herman, seems to place this incident in the reign of Æthelstan (A. D. 925-40). But what Herman says is 'Adelstano regna moderante . . . martyr, in Beodrici villa pausans sibi propria, iamiam declaratur sanctus';² and the true meaning of these words appears to be, not that the body was at that

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 350.

² Arnold, vol. i, pp. 29-30.

time transported to Beaduricesworth, but that, it being already there, some public proclamation of Eadmund's sainthood was then made.

In fact, as it is known that in Ælfred's reign some coins were struck bearing the attribution of sanctity to the East Anglian King, it must be considered as probable that the translation occurred in the early years of the tenth century, after making due allowance for the lapse of an interval between the resolve to move the body from Haegelisdun and the completion of the great Church erected at Beaduricesworth for its reception. A passage in Bodley 240 gives countenance to this view.

Opinions differed even in the time of the monks as to the period at which Beaduric lived and as to the rank which belonged to him. One account makes him a King 'a quodam ut dicitur rege Beodrico'.¹ No king of this name is elsewhere stated to have reigned over East Anglia; but it is possible that Beaduric was one of those 'reguli', or petty kings who held temporary or partial sway between the death of S. Æthelberht and the accession of Ecgberht's son Æthelstan in or about A. D. 826. Some chroniclers place Beaduric in remoter antiquity; others assert that, living in S. Eadmund's days, he made the King his heir, and another legend intimates that he lived at a still more recent time, and was a benefactor to the community of secular priests established at his 'worth' or estate in honour of the Saint.

It is not evident what measures were first taken after the translation to Beaduricesworth to ensure the safe and seemly custody of the sacred relics. It may be supposed that the Bishop of the Diocese would have appointed trustworthy guardians of the new Church and the shrine. Samson, however, laments that enthusiasm soon cooled—'tepidior extitit humana sedulitas'—and he speaks of the 'rudis incuria vulgi', the unappreciative apathy of a rude populace.² Herman, referring apparently to the reign of Ælfred's grandson Æthelstan, but this is probably too late a date, states that a few clergymen were congregated at the Church,³ and he gives their names, Leofric, Alfric, Bomfield and Eilmund, priests, another Leofric, and Kenelm,

¹ Herman, Arnold, vol. i, p. 33.

² Arnold, vol. i, p. 112.

³ Arnold, vol. i, p. 30.

deacons. They seem to have volunteered for the service.¹ Samson, on the other hand, places this assemblage in the reign of Æthelred, presumably by mistake or a mere lapse of the pen. There might be a question, in dealing with the misty sequence of events in the period between the death of Ælfred and the reign of his grandson Eadmund, whether the Æthelstan of the monkish chroniclers is the hero of Brunanburgh, or the evanescent phantom Guthorm Æthelstan II. The succession of Danish Kings in East Anglia was this:— (1) Guthorm Æthelstan I, who ruled in that country from about A. D. 878 to A. D. 890; (2) Eohric, who succeeded him, but was mixed up with the rebellion of Æthelweald against Eadward the Elder, A. D. 906, and was killed with Æthelweald in battle; (3) Guthorm Æthelstan II, presumed to be Eohric's son, who made a fresh 'Pact' with Eadward the Elder about the last-mentioned date. Exactly how long this third and last of the Danish Kings reigned is not ascertained. But in 921 all the people of East Anglia, as well as of Essex and the still unsubdued part of Mercia, submitted gladly to Eadward as their sovereign. It is therefore possible, when incidents in the story of S. Eadmund are assigned by old writers to the reign of Æthelstan, that the Danish King, and not the quickly succeeding English King of the same name, may have been, or should have been, intended. Much difficulty also arises from the want of authentic contemporary evidence, as well as of chronological precision on the part of the extant authorities, and in particular from an almost desperate tangle in which the names, dates, and succession of the East Anglian Bishops are involved. All the learning of Dr. Stubbs and of Mr. Searle fails to resolve for us these knotty problems.

At some time not long after the translation to Beaduricesworth an attempt both sacrilegious and burglarious was made by miscreants, eight in number, to break into the martyr's Church, in order to steal the treasures which had been placed there by pious donors. Abbo of Fleury, about A. D. 985, tells the tale, and how the Saint defeated the efforts of the culprits by paralysing their power of movement till morning dawned, and they were arrested. When the Bishop of the diocese, whose name is given as Theodred, heard of the crime, in

¹ Bodley 240; Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. i, p. 502.

wrathful indignation he had the robbers all hanged. It is true that William of Malmesbury places this occurrence at a date before the removal of S. Eadmund's body to Beaduricesworth, but this must be a sheer blunder, and from his own narrative it must be deemed incredible that in the first lowly and neglected place of burial there were any treasures to attract the thieves. But William, who might be described as the Livy of his time, loved a 'pictured page', and a story as a story, without perhaps a meticulous regard for precision in details.

According to some authorities, the little knot of clergymen who first undertook the guardianship of the shrine was subsequently increased in number to nineteen, of whom fourteen were priests, and five were deacons, endowed with prebends, and living upon the oblations which they received. In the reign of Æthelstan these ministers were incorporated as a College.¹ If that is correct, then the early company of six mentioned by Herman must have been assembled some years sooner, but the haze of time makes it almost impossible to trace exactly the sequence of events. In the reign of Æthelstan's successor and brother Eadmund, however, we emerge into a clearer scene. Eadmund was no doubt named after the martyr, to show his veneration of whom he granted to the College the whole territory of Beaduricesworth, A. D. 945. The text of the Charter by which this grant was made is preserved in Bodley 297.² Appended to it is a description of the boundaries of the estate conferred upon the College, and these accurately correspond, so far as can be judged, with the limits of the parishes which, to this day, constitute the borough of Bury S. Eadmund. The effect of King Eadmund's charter is to endow the monastery at Beaduricesworth with the land which lies round that place in perpetuity, and discharged from all secular burdens, 'ab omni mundiali obstaculo'. It is to be observed that among the attestations subjoined to the Charter is that of Theodred, Bishop of the See of London.

Somewhat later, it may be conjectured, than the date of this important grant, a sheriff, who had come on a May Day to Beaduricesworth to hold his Court at the Thing-hoe, or Hill of Council, pursued to the

¹ Battely, p. 28.

² Arnold, vol. i, pp. 341-2.

mausoleum of the Saint a woman culprit who in her distress had taken refuge there; and as a punishment for his profane temerity was driven mad, and died a miserable death. This may have happened early in the reign of Eadgar, or perhaps a few years sooner. It is stated by Herman,¹ that Bomfield the priest, and Leofric the deacon, two of the six original custodians of the shrine, were present when the Sheriff broke into the sacred building. They are described as seniors, 'ecclesiae maiores'. It is consequently reasonable to suppose that a space of twenty or five-and-twenty years, or thereabouts, had elapsed since they first took up their duties.

It is of interest to note that the Sheriff, the villain of the piece, was holding his Court—it may be assumed the Shire Court—at the Thing-hoe, which is situated within the limits of Beaduricesworth. It may be inferred from this circumstance that the Thing-hoe was already the rallying-point of a group of hundreds detached from the body of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, for it is unlikely that the business of the whole East Anglian bailiwick should have been transacted at a place so far from its centre as Beaduricesworth. In that case, the Liberty of the eight hundred and a half, afterwards bestowed by Cnut on his second wife, Queen Emma, 'in dotem', or as her morgengifu, or wedding gift, would have been of long standing and not constituted for the first time on that occasion.

The name of this Sheriff was Leofstan, and it is a little perplexing that Abbo in his treatise makes mention, but without date, of an arrogant young nobleman of the same name, who, abusing his rank and power, in spite of remonstrances, demanded the exhibition to him of the martyr's body. His orders were obeyed, but to his own grievous harm. Like the Sheriff who, in Herman's narrative, bore the same name, he went out of his mind, and being disowned by his father Ælfgar, was reduced to penury and ended his life eaten of worms.² There was about the middle of the tenth century a noble of the name of Ælfgar, who was a relation (propinquus) of King Eadwig, 955-959, and held under that King a high position.³ It is possible that he was the father of young Leofstan, whose presump-

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 31.

² Arnold, vol. i, p. 23.

³ Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, p. 398.

tion would thus to some degree be explained, as would also be the severity with which it was punished, for Eadwig is believed to have been a benefactor of the establishment at Beaduricesworth, and Ælfgar himself left Cockfield to S. Eadmund's Stow in reversion by his will.¹

It is interesting to find that at this period there was in East Anglia an Ealdorman or Dux having the name of Æthelstan, who was so highly esteemed that he was known as the Half-King (*semi rex*). He had two wives, Ælfwen, foster-mother of King Eadgar, and Æthel-flaed sister to Brihtnoth, Ealdorman of Essex, and many years afterwards the hero of the battle of Maldon.² By one or the other of these two wives, Æthelstan had a son called Æthelwine, and surnamed the friend of God (*dei amicus*). Æthelwine also was Ealdorman of the East Angles, and is stated to have been the founder of Ramsey Abbey. It is highly probable that Æthelstan and his son Æthelwine were among the votaries of S. Eadmund, although Abbo and Herman furnish no particulars of their benefactions.

The reign of Eadgar was a time of tranquillity in East Anglia, and that his great minister Dunstan was friendly to the cult of S. Eadmund may be taken for granted, but no sooner had Eadgar been laid to rest at Glastonbury, than a fierce dissension arose between the partisans of the secular clergy and the champions of the monks. The quarrel extended to East Anglia, and whereas Battely and Dr. Yates seem to accuse the monastic party of being the aggressors, the more probable view is that, in this region at any rate, those who favoured the monks acted on the defensive. Æthelwine, the 'Friend of God', convened the wise men of his district, who resolved to retain the monks. Brihtnoth, on behalf of Essex, joined them, and their spirit rose so high, that a fighting force was levied to enforce the local decision. It took repeated meetings of the National Witan to adjust the disputes, here and elsewhere. But it should not escape observation that public opinion in the East of England was not in favour of the secular clergy, whose habits of life must clearly have become the subject of censure.

We are now brought to the reign of Æthelred, the king devoid of

¹ Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 506.

² Searle, pp. 407 and 411.

counsel. Very soon after his accession, upon the murder of his half-brother Eadward, known as the Martyr, the incursions of the Danes began again. The first of these was in 980, two years after Eadward's death. Others followed in 981 and 982. It was but a short time after this that Dunstan had that interview with Abbo of Fleury which resulted in the composition by Abbo of his treatise on the Life and Martyrdom of S. Eadmund, which, next to the Chronicle and the *Life of Ælfred* by Bishop Asser, is the earliest extant authority for particulars of the Saint's career, and the subsequent veneration of his remains. Abbo's treatise, which is written in Latin, was a few years later rendered, with abridgement and simplification, into English by Ælfric, who in his early years was a monk at Winchester, and in 1005 became Abbot of Eynsham.

During the earlier part of this period, the era of England's deepest degradation, as to which some observations will be made later on, there is little to relate which particularly concerns the establishment at Beaduricesworth. The conduct of the secular priests continued to give dissatisfaction. An Ely Chronicle cited in Bodley 240¹ vouches for their delinquency. The devotion of the clergy, it says, grew cool—'circa martirem tepuit clericorum devotio'. So the Bishop of the diocese ordained and instituted a religious and honest monk by name 'Aeylwynum' (Æthelwine) as his deputy for the service of the saintly King, about the year 999. Other authorities place this appointment nine years earlier, i. e. thirty years before the introduction of the monks which took place in 1020. If the earlier is the correct date, then the deputation, so humiliating to the priests, happened just before the Danes attacked Ipswich in 991, and thence proceeded to Maldon, where was fought the famous battle in which Brihtnoth was killed.

In 1004 Swegen turned his forces against East Anglia. He burned and plundered Norwich. Then, leaving his ships, he made a raid upon Thetford. The Alderman of the East Angles, Ulfkytel, a man of great vigour and courage, saw his opportunity, and ordered his troops to hasten to the coast and destroy the Danish fleet. But they disobeyed him. Ulfkytel nevertheless joined battle with Swegen.

¹ Horstman, vol. ii, p. 596.

The encounter was fierce and indecisive, but the Danes admitted that never before had they been so roughly handled. The following year was marked by a devastating dearth. In 1010 the Danes returned to East Anglia. At Ringmere (Rushmere) close to Ipswich Ulfkytel again joined issue with the invaders. He had with him, no doubt, all the force that could be collected from Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, but only the Cambridgeshire troops had any stomach for fighting: the others fled from the field. It was at this time that, alarmed for the safety of the precious relics committed to his charge, the monk Æthelwine determined to remove the body of S. Eadmund from Beaduricesworth to London. By round-about routes he travelled, but at length got safely to his journey's end. For three years Æthelwine stayed in London with the body of St Eadmund, and then returned with it to Beaduricesworth, to the great satisfaction of the people there. But was there less risk of pagan profanation in the East Anglian Sanctuary? This year, 1013, came Swegen with his young son Cnut, bent not upon the plunder only but upon the conquest of England, and this was quickly achieved, although the Londoners held out till all the rest of the country had submitted. It might pass without saying that the conqueror proceeded to fleece his newly acquired subjects without stint or mercy, but it seems that if there was one spot in his dominions for which he had a special hatred it was Beaduricesworth and its monastery; and if there was one name which roused him to a paroxysm of disdainful fury it was that of S. Eadmund. From his Court, therefore, which he is said to have established at Gainsborough, Swegen dispatched messengers to Beaduricesworth demanding a great sum of money upon pain of destruction by fire, and of tortures and slaughter. The outlook was exceedingly dismal, for resistance was out of the question. But the monk Æthelwine, the guardian of the martyr's shrine, moved, as he believed, by S. Eadmund in person, had the courage to beard the tyrant alone, and to remonstrate with him against his impious project. Æthelwine met with no immediate success, and was driven with contumely from Swegen's presence. But the unlooked-for happened. Very soon afterwards about Candlemas, at the beginning of February, 1014, Swegen suddenly died. What was in

fact the cause of his death is not known. Perhaps it was an apoplectic seizure ; perhaps an attack of angina pectoris. But Beaduricesworth had no doubt. S. Eadmund, affronted and vengeful, had driven a blade or a spear into the tyrant's breast, and the ' victor victim ' closed his career in merited agony. It is easy to picture the joy of the people and priests of Beaduricesworth at their deliverance ; and all East Anglia testified their gratitude by a spontaneous levy of four pence upon each carucate of land in the whole diocese. Of this grant, we shall hear again in the reign of Swegen's son Cnut.

Upon the death of Swegen, Æthelred, who had fled across the channel, was recalled by his countrymen. Cnut had to recede for the moment. But Æthelred soon died, and then his son Eadmund Ironside and Cnut, two valiant striplings, were left to contend for the prize. This prize was the realm of England. They fought hard, they fought often. At length at Assandun in Essex, the raven flapped its wings, the Dane won the day. The best blood of England was shed in that deadly conflict, and among those who fell was the brave Ulfkytel, the East Anglian Alderman. The champions now agreed to divide the stakes. Eadmund Ironside, as head King took all to the south and east of a line roughly traced from the Bristol Channel to the Wash, including East Anglia ; Cnut took the rest. But Eadmund's early death, whether in the course of nature or by foul means, left Cnut sole master of the Kingdom, 30 Nov. 1016.

Now we must turn again to Beaduricesworth. When Æthelwine carried away the body of S. Eadmund to London, the priestly guardians of the great wooden church remained behind, ' loco suo quo prius interim remanserunt '.¹ They enjoyed their prebends, as before, but the most important part of their duties they were not called upon to perform. If they had been previously slack in the discharge of them, they now most likely got more completely out of hand, and when Swegen's death relieved the community of the dread of violence, it may be easily understood that the reaction induced further relaxation of discipline. At the beginning of Cnut's reign it is probable that one Ælfgar was Bishop of the East Angles, but a year or two later he was succeeded by Ælfwine, who had been a

¹ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 3977, fol. 25.

monk of Ely. Formerly, when the small original body of clerical custodians had grown to the number of nineteen, about the middle of the tenth century, it had been recognized that a portion of the prebends and oblations received by the seculars belonged to the Bishop, and this portion was loyally reserved for him.¹ But now there occurred an ugly and disgraceful incident. The new Bishop Ælfwine held a visitation at Beaduricesworth. He had heard of the 'incontinence' of the priests, and their other 'enormities', and endeavoured, but without effect, to make them mend their ways. Next, he claimed his share of the prebends and other episcopal dues. In this he was equally unfortunate. The priests, in scornful spite of their diocesan, sent him some bits of veal and pork stuck on skewers, and this insult they perpetrated publicly.² Bishop Ælfwine was a peaceable, kindly man, but he was much upset by this affront, and not less so by the persistent want of reverence shown to the Martyr. What was he to do? He took into his confidence the venerable Queen. This was Ælfgifu Emma, the widow of King Æthelred, whom Cnut took as his wife almost at the beginning of his reign. In doing so, he gave her as a marriage portion the jurisdiction and royal revenues of the eight and a half hundreds which lay as a cincture round about the minster and town of Beaduricesworth. Queen Emma thus became a special protectress of the shrine and the honour of S. Eadmund, and it was natural that the Bishop should consult her. In passing, it may be noticed that when she is called by the annalist 'venerable',³ this epithet must be understood of her rank and character, not of her age, for she was probably at this time under forty, though much senior to her second husband Cnut.

The conference between the Bishop and the Queen resulted in a plan which was laid before Cnut, and with the good will of Thurkill, now Earl of East Anglia, accepted. The king proceeded to convoke an assembly of Archbishops and Bishops, Abbots and Priors, Earls and Barons, from every part of England, and issued his precept to the effect that S. Eadmund's Church should thenceforward be served by monks, who should devoutly serve God and Saint Mary

¹ Bodley 240; Horstman, vol. ii, p. 592.

² Horstman, vol. ii, pp. 603-4.

³ Arnold, vol. i, p. 359.

by day and by night. Then Ælfwine, the Bishop of Elmham, the head and moving cause of this reform, was charged with the duty of carrying it into effect. Earl Thurkill gave his assistance and it was signified to be the King's pleasure that one half of the brethren established at the monastery of S. Benedict at Hulme, near Norwich, should be assigned to the Church in Beaduricesworth. Others were to be brought from the monastery at Ely. The clergy were to be removed, and placed elsewhere. The date of this 'innovation' was A. D. 1020, one hundred and fifty years after the martyrdom of S. Eadmund.¹

SECTION VI

So the careless and disorderly secular priests were turned out, and the men of rule and vow were brought in. From the Abbey of S. Bennet's Hulme came thirteen monks, from Ely came seven. Those who came from Hulme were headed by the Prior of that house, by name Uvius in Latin dress, but Wig (which means war) in his native English tongue. Uvius was appointed by Bishop Ælfwine to be the first Abbot of Beaduricesworth. With Uvius came another brother called Leofstan, who, many years afterwards, was to succeed Uvius as Abbot. Besides these two were the following: Æthelwine, Ælfweard, Leofden, (Dean) Ælfric, Bondo, Ætheric, Ælfwold, Leofsine, Sparhavoc, and two boys, Oswald and Orderic. It may be assumed that the monks from Hulme, with the contingent from Ely, took possession of the dwellings of the ejected priests, of their corporate property, and of their estates including the manor of Beaduricesworth.

What became of the disendowed and disestablished priests? They are said to have been twelve in number. As they had no longer any fixed abode, Cnut gave them a 'privilege' which was afterwards known as the guild or body called the 'Duodeni', so Dr. Battely says on the authority of Matthew of Westminster (p. 36). It is tempting to identify the 'privilege' with the 'gilde de dusze' mentioned in the will of Agnes de Stubbard of Bury dated 1418,² in the will of John Baret, 1463, where the Dusgilde is given as another name for

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 359.

² Tymms, *Bury Wills*, p. 2.

the 'gilde of the translation of Seynt Nicholas',¹ and in the will of John Coote, 1502, from which we learn that the gilde was 'holden in the Colege'.² Reference may also be made to Everisden, who says, under the year 1281, that the guild of the Translation of S. Nicholas in the town of S. Eadmund was taxed by the Prior at twelve marks.³ Be that as it may, the ejected priests were liberally found in food and raiment. A few of them may have become monks, but the rest continued to lead a roving life, perhaps taking casual duty, until, some forty-five years later, Abbot Baldwin enrolled the survivors (there could not have been many) among the ministrants of his newly built Church of S. Denis, which was constituted the parish church of S. Eadmundsbury.

SECTION VII

UVIUS, FIRST ABBOT, 1020-1044

The abbacy of Uvius, or Wig, extended over nearly a quarter of a century. Of the man himself the reports are all favourable. The annotator of Bodley 297 describes him as humble, modest, gentle, and devout. This finds an echo in the *Cronica Buriensis*.⁴ Abbot Samson speaks of Uvius as prudent and upright, praise that is repeated in Bodley MS. 240. Of the internal organization and management of the Abbey during this period there is practically no record, but one incident not devoid of interest is related in the *Liber Albus*, quoted by Dr. M. R. James in his monograph on the history of the monastic buildings.

It seems that the great thane Ælfric, the son of Withgar, who acted as Steward or Deputy for Queen Emma in the administration of the Franchise of the eight hundreds and a half centred in Thinghoe, had an invalid son, who by permission of Abbot Uvius, and afterwards of Leofstan, was lodged as a guest within the precincts of the Abbey in a building erected by Ælfric himself. In recognition of this act of hospitable kindness, Ælfric is said to have bestowed upon the Abbey his manor of Melford.

¹ Tymms, p. 35.

² Tymms, p. 92.

³ Sir Ernest Clarke, *Bury Chroniclers of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 23.

⁴ Cambridge Pub. Library, Add. MS. 850.

In its wider relations, however, the Abbacy of Uvius was marked by several events of importance.

At the very outset, Bishop Ælfwine renounced, for himself and his successors in the East Anglian diocese,¹ all right and jurisdiction in or over the monastery, the town, and the territory surrounding the town, to the extent of one mile (*stadium*). Even the consecration of the first Abbot was not reserved by Ælfwine to himself, but was performed by the Bishop of London.

It was about this time that the name Beaduricesworth was replaced by the more illustrious name of Saint Eadmundsbury.²

A bold step in the march of progress was taken in the year 1021. The ancient wooden church, in which the body of the saint had reposed, with a short interval of about three years (1010-1013) from the time of its removal from the earliest place of burial, was now demolished, and a new church of stone was built in its stead (Bodley 240). The erection of this new church occupied several years, but at length it was completed, and the church was consecrated by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1031 or 1032. The cost of the new Basilica was met partly by the munificence of Bishop Ælfwine, partly by free-will offerings, and partly by a rate or tax, levied by general assent upon the area of the entire diocese of East Anglia. It is stated that the old church was pulled down before the commencement of the new, and in that case some temporary building would have been necessary for housing the body and shrine of S. Eadmund. Perhaps that building was the round chapel which was destroyed in 1275 to make room for the new Lady Chapel, and the round chapel may have stood at about the central point of the pristine wooden church, the foundations of which, as one would expect, were of much greater extent than the temporary chapel.³

At what date the sacred body was transferred to Ælfwine's church seems to be uncertain. The dedication of the church would be a likely occasion for the transference, but Sir Ernest Clarke, in a note to his English version of Jocelin de Brackland's chronicle, says 1038,

¹ Bodley 240; from Ely Chronicles.

² Bodley, 240; Horstman's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. i, p. 604.

³ Chronicle of John Everisden, Arundel MS. 30 in the College of Arms.

which is after the death of Cnut. Sir Ernest does not, however, name his authority for this statement.

Cnut is said to have given to Abbot Uvius permission to move to the new church at S. Eadmunds Bury the bodies of two venerated East Anglians, Bishop Botulph and S. Jurmin the son of King Anna, but effect was not given to the royal permission till the rule of Uvius's successor.

Before the completion of Ælfwine's church, King Cnut in confirmation of the Bishop's concession of exemption to the monastery, and in furtherance of the grant by King Eadmund to the secular priests, had given in 1028 to Abbot Uvius and his brethren a notable and generous charter which was the forerunner of many high privileges from a long succession of kings.

A further mark of Cnut's favour may be mentioned. William of Malmesbury is cited in Bodley 240 as vouching for the fact that Cnut caused the lands of the Saint to be girdled with a great dyke, marking the boundary of the exempt jurisdiction, '*terram illius fossa magna circumduxit*'. Possibly the execution of this work converted the 'worth' of Beaduric into a 'burh' to be known as S. Eadmunds burh or bury. There are, it must be admitted, but scanty traces of any such fortifications now, but Dr. Battely, in his work on the antiquities of Bury, aptly refers (p. 155) to Abbot Samson's charter to the Burgesses of the town, in which there is express mention of the dyke,—'*fossatum quo villa circumdatur*',—and of the provisions for its repair by the knights, free-tenants, and burgesses.

With this we may dismiss the patronage of Cnut, who, at the early age of forty, passes from the scene in 1035, and the benevolent assistance of Bishop Ælfwine, who, after the dedication of the new basilica in 1031-2 is believed to have resigned his Bishopric, and to have returned, as a simple monk, to Ely.

Uvius, however, still continued to rule the Abbey. What opinion he may have had of Cnut's coarse and boorish sons, the half-brothers Harold and Harthacnut, is not related. Herman indeed does not conceal his, and sharply remarks that under their 'domination' England did not flourish but became contemptible, '*non viguit Anglia*,

sed viluit'.¹ Herman is followed by the compiler of Bodley 240. Uvius, it is true, was so fortunate as to obtain from Harthacnut in the course of that king's short reign a charter supplementary to the charter granted by Cnut. For this it is probable that the thanks were really due to the influence of Harthacnut's mother, the 'Lady' Emma, who was still seized of the eight hundreds and a half. But in process of time the memory of her son must have grown sweeter, for in the Curteys Register,² Harthacnut is no longer an unfruitful branch, but has become an illustrious king, a worthy follower in the footsteps of a worthy Sire, and a shining example of piety and devotion. Time has its ironies.

Harthacnut died, 'as he stood at his drink' at a wedding banquet on the 8th June 1042, and was succeeded by Eadward the Confessor, son to Æthelred and Emma, who was crowned at Winchester in the Eastertide of 1043. In November of the same year the new king deprived his mother of all her jewels and treasures, because in past days she had been hard upon him, and had done less for him than he wished. He had already, it may be, deprived her of the Liberty of the eight and a half hundreds into Thing-hoe, which had been given to her as a wedding present by Cnut. To this domestic quarrel is owing the crowning event in the life and abbacy of Uvius. He was now getting to be an old man; he had presided over his Abbey for four and twenty years; there was a new king in England, not a foreigner, but a scion of the ancient royal line, of the house of Cerdic and Ecgberht, of Ælfred and Eadgar, and the English fondly believed as yet that they had got a king not only of their bone and blood, but of their heart and mind. The new ruler, indeed, held the patron Saint of Bury Abbey in peculiar veneration; he was proud to proclaim himself of the martyr's kin, and, as soon as possible after his coronation, he made a journey, it might be called a pilgrimage, to the shrine at S. Eadmund's Bury. What followed shall be given first in the words of Herman.³ 'Qui tunc suffragatorem redivisus imperialis honorat, centurias, quas Anglice hundrez vocant, octo et semis sibi circumcirca se donat, regiamque mansionem nomine Milden-

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 48.

² See Battely, p. 128.

³ Arnold, *Memorials*, vol. i, p. 48.

hale his adauget, ut cetus fratrum illuc commanentium, Deo Sanctoque famulantium, ex his usualiter victitet.' 'There and then he honoured his patron with princely revenues. He gave to the Saint the eight and a half centuries (which in English are called hundreds), lying round about him, and added to this gift the royal manor of Mildenhall, to the end that the community of brethen dwelling in Bury and engaged in the service of God and of the Saint might be duly maintained therefrom.' All this, Herman adds, was committed to writing by a perpetual charter.

In Bodley 240¹ a similar account is given. Not long after his Coronation, King Eadward in 1044 visited the holy martyr Eadmund, and to the end that his journey should not be unfruitful bestowed upon the monastery right away, 'prima vice', the manor of Mildenhall with its appurtenancies, and the eight hundreds and a half.

A picturesque circumstance is added to this narrative by a passage in the *Liber Traditionum*² which Dr. M. R. James ascribes to the fourteenth century.³

Fol. 23^b: Anno gracie M^oxlili^o Sanctus Eadwardus filius Ethelredi regis et Emme regine consecratus in regem die pasche iii^o Non. Aprilis. . . De huius Sancti largitate et munificentia licet pauca scribere. Cum autem quadam vice beatum Eadmundum visitaret, et refectorium ingrederetur, vidit fratres minores ante refectionem prandentes et panem ordeï comedentes. Qui interrogans prepositum domus cur haec agerent, cui responsum est, facultates domus non sufficere ut bis vel ter in die panem frumenti comederent. Qui fratribus ait, 'ego do vobis villam de Mildenhale ad vestram sustentacionem, et cavete deinceps ne parvi mei, sic enim vocavit minores, pane ordeï vescantur. Quam villam quicumque conatus fuerit a uobis auferre a deo sit anathema, et omnibus sanctis suis', et hac carta sua confirmavit.

In the year of grace 1043 Saint Eadward, the son of King Æthelred and Queen Emma, was consecrated as King on Easter Day. . . It is permissible to say a few words on the subject of this King's bounty and munificence. One day when he was on a visit to S. Eadmund, and was about to enter the refectory, he saw the junior members of the convent before the hour for the meal, making their breakfast, and eating barley bread. The King inquired of the Abbot why they did so, and received the answer that the

¹ Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. ii, p. 608.

² Brit. Mus. Harl. 3977.

³ *Bibliotheca Buriensis*, p. 55.

resources of the monastery were not sufficient to allow of their eating wheaten bread twice or thrice in one day. Then the King said to the brethren, 'I give you the manor of Mildenhall for your sustenance; and mind that henceforth my little ones', for so he called the juniors, 'are not to live upon barley bread. If any one should attempt to wrest that manor from you, let him be cursed of God and of all his saints.' And this grant the King confirmed by his charter.

Of the kindly disposition of Eadward there can be no doubt; what strikes one with some surprise is the allegation made by the Abbot that the revenues of the monastery were so slender; for Kings, Bishops and Thanes had vied one with another in providing endowments first for the Secular Canons, and afterwards for the monks.

Yates, in his *History of Bury Abbey*, citing the *Collectanea Buriensia*, adds to the tale of the barley bread another story, not vouched for by Harl. 3977, that the Confessor in his pious generosity offered at the same time to the Abbot and monks anything which they might be pleased to ask. Thereupon, they consulted together, and requested in addition to the Manor of Mildenhall, the Royal Franchise of the eight hundreds and a half, which the King had lately wrested from his mother. The King was taken aback by this demand, which he characterized as indiscreet, as the grant of that jurisdiction would involve the community in continual trouble; but nevertheless out of his respect to his kinsman S. Eadmund, he would yield to their desire.¹

And now Uvius had served his generation, and fell on sleep. He died some time in 1044, and was buried, at first perhaps in the basilica of Ælfwine's erection; but in the Register of the Abbey preserved at Douai it is stated that the place of his sepulture was in the Chapel of the Infirmary. It will be seen from the Corpus MS. that his 'anniversary' was commemorated in the monastery by a 'gaudy'.

SECTION VIII

LEOFSTAN, SECOND ABBOT, 1044-1065.

Upon the death of Uvius, or Wig, the choice of the monks is said to have fallen upon Leofstan, who had been one of the original

¹ Yates, p. 73.

migrants from Hulme twenty-four years before. Abbot Samson tells us that the election was unanimous¹ and Herman notes that Leofstan was 'vir sagacis ingenii', a man of sagacity and intelligence.² From the fragment now published it may be inferred that the selection made by the brethren had received some stimulus from the recommendation of King Eadward, which probably much resembled a *Congé d'élire*. The new Abbot was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester.

It is not easy to form a decisive judgement upon the character of Leofstan whether as Abbot or man. Two meritorious benefactions to the Abbey stand recorded to his credit, but in neither case is the credit indisputably due to him. Dr. Battely refers to a tradition of uncertain origin to the effect that Leofstan obtained from the Pope a 'privilege' of Liberty for the monastery, but adds that the compiler of the *Registrum Buriense*, whatever that may have been, from which the story was derived, honestly admitted that, if any such privilege was granted, there was no recollection of it. There is no trace of it now.

It does not fare better with another claim made on behalf of Abbot Leofstan. Among the ornaments of the Abbey Church was a crucifix of life size and wonderfully modelled. This was said by some to have been presented to the Convent by Leofstan, and to have been copied from an original sculpture at Lucca.³ But there was another account according to which the crucifix had been in the possession of the secular college at Beaduricesworth before the arrival of the monks.⁴

It is more certain that the translation, from Grundisburgh and Blytheburgh respectively, of the bodies of Bishop Botulph and S. Jurmin, the son of King Anna, to Bury Abbey, for which the permission of Cnut had been given to Abbot Uvius, was carried out during the rule of Leofstan. But it is said that S. Jurmin had left an express direction that his remains should not be moved.

There is reason to think that Leofstan paid due regard to secular

¹ Arnold, *Memorials*, vol. i, p. 131.

² Arnold, p. 51.

³ *Registrum Alphabeticum*, quoted by Battely, p. 42.

⁴ *Liber Albus*, Harleian 1005, referred to by Dr. James, p. 161.

matters, and was careful of the possessions of the monastery, and of quotidian affairs such as the organization of the estates so as to ensure the continuous supply of meat and drink for the brethren. The Corpus MS. contains an inventory of books, vestments, church furniture, and so forth, which Leofstan found when he succeeded to the Abbacy. A part of the valuables listed may have come from Hulme in 1020. Others may have been acquired during the long rule of Uvius. Some thirty books, in addition to those kept in the Abbey itself, are said to have been in Leofstan's possession at some other place, perhaps at the manor of Fornham Parva, adjoining Bury, which was given to the College of priests by King Eadmund, and it is not unlikely that the Corpus MS. was one of them,

A remarkable occurrence which took place, probably not long after Leofstan's accession, was the 'Conversion' of a proud Dane, Osgood Clapa. Herman is again the primary authority, and he is followed by Samson.¹ King Eadward came down to Bury with a number of his courtiers to make a stay there. One day, while the King was closeted in the Chapter House with the Abbot and monks for discussion of the Abbey's affairs, Osgood, who is described by Herman as 'major domus', and by Samson as 'secundus a rege' inferior in power only to the sovereign, stalked into S. Eadmund's Church, arrayed in barbaric splendour, with an axe on his shoulder. It does not appear that he did anything very terrible, but the people assembled in the Church thought his demeanour insolent and offensive. Disregarding their complaints, Osgood pressed on through the choir to the presbytery, and was about to rest his axe on the floor, in order to lean upon it as on a staff, when the axe was suddenly wrenched from his hands, and he came heavily to the ground, it would seem in a fit of epilepsy. Clamour and confusion arose, the din reached the King and monks in the Chapter House. They adjourned their business, and hurried to the church. When Eadward saw the unfortunate Dane wallowing and babbling on the floor, he was filled with compassion, and turning to Leofstan, said 'It is your duty, Father Abbot, to beg of the Saint that, upon confession and repentance this man's guilt may be pardoned'. Prayers were said, psalms were sung; the

¹ Arnold, vol. i, pp. 54 and 135.

Abbot performed the rites of exorcism. In vain! Then Æthelwine, the faithful attendant of the martyr, advised that Osgood be carried to the martyr's tomb. This was done. The devout offices were renewed, and the evil spirit was driven out. The Dane returned to his senses, mended his ways, and remained a loyal votary of S. Eadmund for the rest of his life. Only, as a memento of his sin, he was afflicted with a permanent weakness, Samson says 'ariditate', of both hands.

There is yet to be recounted a strange and not edifying tale relating to the career of Leofstan. The incident is without date, but may conjecturally be placed about A.D. 1055, or a little later. Mr. Arnold speaks of a period of sloth and torpor (vol. i, pp. xxix and 52). Herman and Samson are the primary authorities, and are cited in Bodley 240 (Horstman's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. ii, pp. 611-13). The story runs as follows. A woman from the neighbourhood of Winchester, named Ælfgeth, who had been dumb from birth, came to S. Eadmundsbury, as people now go to Lourdes, for the relief of her disablement. After a while she gained the power of speech, and in gratitude for so great a boon determined to make her home at S. Eadmund's shrine, where she busied herself in sweeping the floor, arranging bouquets of flowers, and such like humble ministrations. One night the Saint himself appeared, and accosted her with these words,—'Go, and ask Abbot Leofstan this question: Why are you so remiss and neglectful of me? My face is shamefully covered with cobwebs; all veneration is dead.' The woman duly reported this to the Abbot, but he treated what she said with scorn as the prattle of a silly old woman. A few days afterwards a similar thing happened, with like result. A third time the Saint visited her, on this occasion making use not only of remonstrances but of threats. By these the Abbot was at length aroused, and was so terrified that he thought it expedient to take his monks into hurried consultation. It was agreed that it was time something should be done. That something was to hold a three days' fast, and then to proceed to an inspection of the martyr's coffin (*locellum*). It was opened, and they fetched the monk Æthelwine, now blind from old age, and bade him report whether the body was still in the same state as it used to be when he had

official charge of it. Yes! it was, so far as Æthelwine could judge from manual examination. The body was then lifted from the coffin, and placed upon a table of planks. At this moment the Abbot was impelled by curiosity to ascertain whether, as was believed, the head was firmly joined to the body, and gave orders that, while he grasped the martyr's head with both hands, one of the monks should take hold of the feet, and pull against the Abbot. One by one they refused. The Abbot at last called upon one of their number named Thurstan, whose education he had superintended, and who was under special obligations to him, to obey his superior's command. Thus adjured, Thurstan complied. A sort of 'tug of war' followed, in which the Abbot was the victor, and dragged both the Saint's body and the struggling monk towards himself. Perhaps Thurstan discreetly refrained from using his whole strength.

It is difficult to imagine a more unbecoming or repulsive spectacle than this of the Abbot tugging at the head, and the monk lugging at the feet of the martyr, their saintly patron. Leofstan, indeed, was quickly seized with contrition, and was aghast at his own impious deed. But he was seized also with a fell stroke of paralysis. He could not see; he could not speak; his hands were distorted and palsied. Some one later made a sarcastic Latin verse upon him:

*Tracto contractus fuit hic pro martire factus.*¹

'He was crippled for dragging about the martyr's corpse.'

In the Corpus MS. mention is twice made of Thurstan, in the first instance as being the possessor of a psalter, in the second as being a contributor to what may have been a harvest festival, to which the Abbot also contributed, in aid of the resources which Ætheric, whom we may take to have been the Cellarer of the Abbey, could furnish from the Nowton Estate. We shall come across Thurstan once more as Sacrist in the time of Baldwin, the next Abbot.

Leofstan, finding himself to be crippled by his painful malady, begged his Sovereign, King Eadward, to send him a doctor to heal him if possible of his disease. It so happened that at this time the King had in attendance at Court one Baldwin, a Frenchman, and

¹ Bodley 240; Horstman, p. 613.

monk of S. Denis, who enjoyed a high reputation for medical skill. Baldwin was dispatched by Eadward to S. Eadmundsbury, and took charge of the case. Under his treatment, the Abbot recovered his sight and his speech, but the distortion of his hands remained intractable. It may be inferred that Leofstan had not informed the King of the circumstances which led up to his illness, for Baldwin did not at first know of them. When the facts were revealed it is said he threw up the case as hopeless, so far as Leofstan's guilty hands were implicated, and was so awestruck that he made up his mind to enter the monastery as a votary of the aggrieved Saint.

This is a grotesque story. In its main features it must be true. Such things are not invented. And Herman, who for many years was a monk of Bury, may as a young man have been personally acquainted with Leofstan. Quite certainly he must have known Thurstan, and with equal certainty he was intimate with Baldwin. Herman admits what Mr. Arnold describes as the sloth and torpor of the times, and the laxity and irreverence of the monks. The shrine and coffin of S. Eadmund were besmirched with cobwebs, the woodwork was mouldering in noisome decay. But thirty years before, the secular priests had been ignominiously expelled on account of their negligence and unseemly lives, and now the monkish guardians, upon whom royal and episcopal favours had been lavished, were shown to be no whit more zealous or forward in the discharge of their sacred trust.

SECTION IX

The proudest days of early English History are those which comprise the reigns of Ælfred, his son Eadward, and his grandsons, Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Eadred, and after a strenuous epoch of storm and stress come to a brilliant close in the reign of Eadgar, with the pacification of the land, with the reascendancy of the native royal line, with the quiet merging of the Danish incomers in the English population, and with national independence. There is, in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*,¹ a short Life of King Eadgar, who is rather un-

¹ Horstman, vol. ii, p. 530.

expectedly distinguished as 'Saint and Confessor', from which an extract may not be out of place.

At his birth, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, heard a voice from heaven, saying in English, 'England will be at peace so long as that boy reigns, and our Dunstan lives'. Eadgar reigned for sixteen years, and every year founded a new monastery. He governed the whole island in perfect peace, and with perfect justice. He bound to himself by oaths of perpetual obligation Kenneth King of the Scots, Malcolm King of the Cumbrians, the Arch-pirate Mascosius, and all the Kings of the Welsh, five in number, who were compelled to appear in his Court. All these met him at Chester; and, being placed in one boat, were taken by him along the river in triumphal state, they rowing, he seated in the bows.

After describing how strictly Eadgar repressed drunkenness and robbery, and how he exterminated the 'beasts of blood', especially wolves, the panegyric proceeds:

Every summer season after Easter he ordered his fleet to be concentrated from all his coasts, of which he himself, going on board, made the circuit to scare away pirates; while in winter he rode through the several provinces to suppress marauders, and to see that the local authorities duly administered justice.

These were the palmy days of Old England. To outward view all was well. Yet, beneath the smiling surface, the seeds of corruption must have been already sown. Something was rotten in the state. Peace may have brought plenty; it may have brought prosperity; it did not bring piety or patriotism. The people forgot that security was not only to be enjoyed but must be maintained. Discipline was relaxed, even among clergy and monks, and in the person of Æthelred the land was cursed by the vices and folly of a ruler of whom it might have been said as it was of the unworthy kings of Israel in ancient time, that he 'did evil in the sight of the Lord'.

It was but seven years after the death of Eadgar that the Danish invasions began afresh. But the English were now without a leader, and without comradeship. So we see 'divided counsels and a distracted people'; and it came about as Mr. Freeman laments, quoting the Chronicle,¹ 'that when the King and the Wise men did settle some-

¹ *Old English History*, 1901, p. 216.

thing, it did not stand for one month ; and next there was no headman that troops would gather ; and ilk man fled as he most might ; and the next thing was that no shire another would help. . . All this ill luck fell upon us through unrede, that men would not bid their gafol in time, and when they ' (the Danes) ' most evil had done, then made man grith and frith with them, and nathless for all this grith and frith and gafol ' (truce and peace and tribute) ' then fared they everywhere by flocks, and harried, and our poor folk robbed and slew.'

This is a heart-rending picture of a discomfited and dispirited nation. The land passed under the domination of Swegen ; and though he was removed by sudden death, and though for a brief space the contest was renewed by Eadmund Ironside, and battle after battle was fought by him against Swegen's son, Cnut, the fatal battle of Assandun, and the quickly succeeding death of Eadmund, fastened irretrievably the Danish yoke upon the people of this island. Cnut, indeed, after a harsh beginning, did not grind the faces of his English subjects ; he employed some of them in both ecclesiastical and secular government, choosing no doubt those of whose submissiveness he was assured, and having always the power of removing any that became restive or obnoxious to him. The country was quiet, but power was in the hands of a foreign conqueror ; the vanquished had no scope for national activity, and were free only to give the rein to their grosser appetites, an old stigma of their race. When Cnut and his issue had disappeared, and with Eadward the Confessor the old royal line of England was restored, there were many, no doubt, who hoped, with Earl Godwine, for a renaissance of national independence and pride of race. Bitter must have been their disappointment, when they found that the son of Æthelred had little of the Englishman about him in sentiment or aspiration, and that his chief pleasure, besides that of hunting, was in the advancement and promotion of strangers from beyond seas. Corrupted at first by prosperity, then crushed by disaster, further emasculated by the inertia of subjection, and now depressed by disillusionment, the English people, laity, priests and monks, were all sunk in pursuit of gross and ignoble pleasures. Before they could rise again, their blood had to be mingled with the blood of other strains, Normans,

Franks, Bretons, Flemings ; brains, discipline, and organization must be brought to them from abroad, together with widened views and loftier aims.

We left Abbot Leofstan in his monastery, crippled but penitent. So far as can be gathered, he remained for several years in that condition. He had survived Earl Godwine ; he had known Harold, Ælfgar, and Gurth as Earls of East Anglia. He came from Hulme to Beaduricesworth in 1020 ; he had been forty-five years in S. Eadmund's Abbey, as monk and Abbot, and in the summer of 1065 he departed this life. Where he was first buried is unknown. In the Douai Register it is said that Leofstan's bones repose in a shrine between the 'summitatem' of two columns and the feet, i.e. to the east, of the shrine of S. Eadmund, with the bones of the monk Æthelwine, and of the devout woman Oswen. This, of course, refers to Baldwin's church.¹

SECTION X

BALDWIN, THIRD ABBOT, 1065-1097.

How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads
To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof,
By its own weight made steadfast and immoveable,
Looking tranquillity !

CONGREVE, *Mourning Bride*, Act II, Sc. I.

Till now the story has been one of an English Monastery. In the time of Uvius and Leofstan, the monks must have been nearly all of English birth and speech. With the death of Leofstan the shadow of a momentous change, traceable already during several years in many parts of England, is projected on the scene of S. Eadmundsbury. King Eadward recommended, and the monks obsequiously elected for Abbot, the French monk and physician Baldwin, who had prescribed for the crippled and paralytic Leofstan. On this occasion, indeed, the choice of King and Convent was amply justified. Baldwin ranks among the most eminent of the long series of Bury Abbots, and, like Samson, the greatest of them all, was fortunate in the length of his

¹ Dr. M. R. James, p. 181.

pastorate, by which he was enabled to reap 'a harvest of wise purposes sown in the fruitful furrows of his mind'.

He was a native of Chartres; was a monk of S. Denis; afterwards became Prior of Leberau in Alsace; and thence, owing to his fame as a physician, was persuaded by Eadward the Confessor to migrate to England, where he was appointed Prior of Deerhurst. He was now promoted to be Abbot of Bury, where, it is said, he had for some time been resident, after his attendance upon Abbot Leofstan.

The new ruler of Bury is described in the annotations to Bodley 297 as a man equally eminent by the piety of his character and by his learning,¹ and as one who governed his abbey faithfully as a good Christian, strenuously moving on from good to better, and augmenting abundantly its estates and possessions.

Almost the first work which Baldwin undertook at Bury was the erection of a church in honour of S. Denis.² This was a large and handsome church, and was designed to be the parish church of the 'villa' or town. Hither the Abbot brought together a large staff of clergy, among whom were the survivors of the secular priests who had been dislodged forty-five years earlier, and having long been wanderers, 'per arva vagantes', now gained a settled abode.

Another event of importance occurred during the Confessor's lifetime. Eadward granted to Baldwin the right of minting coin in S. Edmundsbury, and this right was continued to Baldwin's successors.

Soon afterwards King Eadward died. Herman touches lightly upon the stirring events which followed.³ He speaks of Harold as coming to the throne by means of a mixture of force with cunning, 'callida vi,' but adds that Harold was friendly to Bury, and would have satisfied Baldwin's wishes, but that 'fortune interposed obstacles'. He just alludes to the battle of Hastings, and mentions that the contest for the Crown had been truly foretold by a comet. It must be inferred that Baldwin in no way opposed the accession of Duke William, for if he had espoused the cause of Harold, he would beyond doubt have been quickly dispossessed. We know that, on the con-

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 344.

² Battely, pp. 45-6, and M. R. James, p. 162.

³ Arnold, vol. i, p. 57.

trary, Baldwin was held by the Conqueror in the highest esteem, and found in his new sovereign a lifelong patron and protector.

It was about five years after Baldwin's accession to the Abbacy that an event took place which made King William's support of great value. Æthelmer, brother to Stigand, the recently deposed Archbishop, had become Bishop of Elmham about 1047, but in 1070 he was deprived of his see by a synod held at Winchester. In his place one Herfast, or Arfast, a Norman by birth, Chaplain to the King and Chancellor of England, was made Bishop.¹ Arfast, who was evidently an ambitious man, thinking himself secure of William's good offices, was no sooner enthroned at Elmham than he resolved to invade the privileges of Bury Abbey. His object, it appears, was threefold. First, he wanted to reverse the policy of Bishop Ælfwine, and to reassert the jurisdiction of the Diocesan over the monks. In the second place, he wished to reclaim for the see many of the endowments by which his predecessors in title had endowed the monastery. Thirdly, he aimed at fixing the seat of his bishopric at S. Eadmundsbury. To each and all of these demands Baldwin offered a strenuous resistance. On the substantial merits of the controversy it is hard to form a conclusive opinion. Nor is it very clear what arguments were put forward on one side and the other. Arfast might have urged that as Bishop he was entitled to be overseer of the entire Christian organization of his diocese; that the immunities claimed for the Abbey were such as to derogate from that function; that preceding Bishops had in many cases alienated to Bury estates and revenues appurtenant to the see and not within their personal disposition, and that such grants, being *ultra vires*, should be annulled; that it was expedient to remove the seat of episcopal government from a remote and petty village like Elmham to a more considerable town; and that it was dangerous to leave an establishment so rich and powerful as the Bury monastery without the superintendence of high and readily accessible ecclesiastical authority. Baldwin might have replied that the monkish ideals were different from those of parochial institution, and required a different system of administration; that the possessions of the Abbey were legitimately bestowed and acquired; that there were other

¹ Blomfield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. iii, p. 463.

places, Norwich in particular, to which the see might be transferred, and that the Benedictine house was subject to the visitation of the Order, and to the Chair of S. Peter. He might also have contended, he did contend, that Ælfwine's grant of privilege had been ratified by the practical allowance of all succeeding Bishops, and was fortified by the Charters of Kings.

So we have 'a very pretty quarrel'. Arfast was a stalwart and determined litigant; so was Baldwin. But Arfast made a momentous mistake. He thought he had William the Conqueror on his side. But he had not. William was no doubt personally well affected to both parties. But in this dispute he was from the first in favour of Baldwin, for the Abbot promptly set out for Rome, by leave of the King, says Herman, 'regis licentia Romam profectus',¹ by the advice and with the assistance, 'consilio et auxilio', of the King, says the annotator of Bodley 297.² So Arfast, in 'taking on' Baldwin, had also taken on their common lord and sovereign. On his arrival in Rome, the Abbot hastened to lay his case before the Pope, Alexander II, by whom he was received with the most gracious cordiality. 'Omnia Roma venalia', Herman alleges.³ Nothing is got for nothing in Rome, and it may be conjectured that the assistance (*auxilium*) which Baldwin had from William took a substantial form. Anyway the mission was successful, the Pope conferred upon the Abbot priest's orders, a crozier, and a ring, the cure of souls, and a porphyry altar, upon which the solemnities of mass might be celebrated even during a national interdict. But that was not all. On 21 October 1071, Alexander II gave to Abbot Baldwin a brief or privilege by which the monastery of S. Eadmund was taken under the guardianship and protection of the Holy See, free from all interference or disturbance, and from any attempt on the part of either secular or ecclesiastical authorities to turn it into an episcopal see, or to impair its possessions and privileges.⁴ Arfast therefore had 'taken on', not only the Abbot, and the King, but also the occupant of the Chair of S. Peter, and, worse perhaps than all, the man behind the Chair, and

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 61.

² Arnold, vol. i, p. 345.

³ Arnold, vol. i, p. 62.

⁴ Bodley 290; Arnold, vol. i, pp. 345-7.

soon to be seated in it, the masterful Hildebrand, to whom Arfast, as a married man,¹ must have been an object of intense disfavour.

Arfast, nevertheless, was not deterred by Baldwin's success in Rome from pursuing his schemes. The details of the contest are narrated by Herman, whose testimony is of especial value, inasmuch as, being at the time one of the Bishop's Archdeacons, he was in the thick of the business, and was cognizant of Arfast's manœuvres and correspondence. A day came, however, when these intimate relations were to be brought to breaking-point. The Bishop was riding in a wood, and eagerly enforcing his claims in colloquy with his followers, when a branch of a tree came in contact with his eye,—the 'effectual vengeance of the Saint' says Herman. Suppuration set in, and blindness seemed to be threatened. In these circumstances, Herman, mindful, no doubt, of the fate of Swegen and the three Leofstans, and of Osgood Clapa, urged the afflicted prelate to have recourse to—Baldwin! Arfast consented; Herman was deputed to arrange the matter. A meeting followed in the vestry of the monastery. There were present, besides some of the senior monks, certain magnates of the realm who were in, or near, the 'vill' for the purpose of holding pleas of the Crown. The Bishop was in humble mood; he confessed to having grievously erred, renounced his claims, condemned his advisers, and pledged himself to offend no more in future. Then at the high altar, with due service and ceremony he was absolved. Being thus spiritually prepared, he was subjected to the expert treatment of the Abbot, and regained his sight, although there remained in one eye, as a memento, some touch of 'tenebrosity', a patch of blindness.

'Ægri somnia!' Arfast forgot, or ignored, his promises, and began the contest afresh. It may have been about this time that Herman resigned his Archdeaconry, and joined the brethren of S. Eadmundsbury as a monk professed. In 1075, by order of a council held by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, Arfast had to remove his see from Elmham, not to Bury, but to Thetford, which had the advantage of being a town of some repute, and was on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk. Perhaps he looked upon Thetford as a sort of

¹ Blomfield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. iii, p. 465.

half-way house on the road to the goal of his ambition, for he renewed his attack on the Abbey again and again, but without success; and eventually, at Eastertide 1081, by order of the King, a grand assembly of the great men, lay and clerical, and the magnates of every part of 'Greater Britain' ('maioris Britanniae principibus') was convened, at which, after solemn argument, the cause was decided in favour of the Abbot. Arfast, still defiant, was compelled to give as security his ring and crozier, thus being practically deposed from his bishopric; and the burden of this 'obligation' was of crushing weight upon him ever afterwards, as he confessed to Herman with a sigh eight days before his death, which happened in 1084. The decision of the great Council was followed about the end of May by a Charter from William the Conqueror confirming the judgement, and by a letter from the king to the local sheriff to notify him of the result. Arfast had fought gamely, though he had not always 'played the game'; and it is a proof of his pluck, if not of his discretion, that he should have persisted in pushing his claims for several years after Hildebrand, who had become Gregory VII, had called upon Lanfranc to bid Arfast to 'Cease fooling'.

We can now turn to consider Baldwin, not as the strenuous and indomitable champion of the rights of his monastery, but as the great builder to whose breadth and boldness of conception, and to whose soaring inspiration, far transcending the somewhat mean and meagre range of purely English artistry, was due in its essential design the superb edifice which Leland panegyricized and Camden lamented. The Abbot's first adventure in this line has already been noticed, the erection of the Church of S. Denis. Another building of Baldwin's time, and raised no doubt with his approval, was a tower of some size, with a chapel attached to it, where a woman named Langliua (in Latin form) lived as a recluse, and, on her death, was buried. The chapel, which was dedicated to S. Margaret, was demolished by Abbot Anselm to make room for the Church of S. Margaret, known to have stood near the modern Shire Hall. But the grand achievement of Baldwin's life was the replacement of Cnut's Church by a vast temple on the scale and in the style inspired by the Norman genius. At what date the first steps were taken to realize this noble project is not

certain. Mr. Arnold seems to place the initiation of it 'towards the end' of Baldwin's Abbacy. This is sufficiently vague. It would seem probable that when Arfast had received his *coup de grâce* in 1081, the Abbot would have been free to set about an enterprise, which would have been quixotic so long as there was a danger that the cuckoo of Thetford might lay its eggs in the Bury nest. At whatever time the new work was begun, it is clear from Herman's treatise that it was entered upon with the express sanction of William the Conqueror, 'suasu, monitu, iussu'.¹ The King promised, moreover, to assist the Abbot as a friend, and to help contribute royally to the execution of his plans. So Baldwin, full of hope and confidence, was able to lay the foundations of the new Basilica. It was necessary in the first place to clear a site. For this purpose the Church which Cnut and his Queen Emma had built was pulled down ('destructa', Bodley 297).

The testimony of the *Gesta Sacristarum* is here both important and puzzling. We are told that in the time of Abbot Baldwin at first Thurstan, afterwards Tolinus, discharged the office of Sacrist. These two, having levelled to the ground the old wooden church, 'laid the foundations of our church, raised the walls, and fully completed the presbytery'. They also procured the translation of the Blessed Martyr. It is pleasant to meet Thurstan again, and in so honourable a capacity. But his share in the great work is rather confusedly lumped together with the work of his successor Tolinus, and we are left in doubt as to the scope and duration of Thurstan's labours. A more serious perplexity arises from the description of Cnut's Church as the old wooden church, for it has generally been supposed and stated that Cnut's Church was of stone. Herman² says of Cnut's dealing with the original tenth-century church, 'quam lapideam reparavit,' which might be open to two interpretations, but for the apparently uniform tradition that Cnut's Church was an entirely new fabric, and that the older Church was, as a preliminary measure, demolished.

In clearing the site for Baldwin's basilica, the bones of persons who had been buried there were dug up, and were with pious respect

¹ Arnold, vol. i, p. 85.

² *ibidem*, p. 845.

reinterred in a chapel of oak-wood, which the Abbot caused to be built for their reception.¹

In the basilica the materials employed were largely flint stones compacted with mortar. These stones were doubtless obtained locally. The flint cores were faced with ashlar stone, quarried in part at Barnack in Northamptonshire, partly at Caen in Normandy, and it is said that the design of the Bury Minster was suggested by the Cathedral at Caen.² Battely (pp. 49-50) records interesting particulars as to the way in which the stone was procured. The quarries at Barnack belonged to the Abbot of Peterborough, and it would seem that this prelate was not very generous in according to his brother of Bury permission to make use of them. In this case also King William exerted his authority on behalf of his friend Baldwin. 'I command and enjoin upon you,' wrote the Conqueror to the Abbot of Peterborough, 'that you allow the Abbot of S. Eadmund to obtain, as before, a sufficient supply of stone for his Church, and do not put further obstacles in his way, as you have been doing, in the carriage of stone to the waterside.'³ A story follows, on the authority of Stowe, but how otherwise vouched does not appear, that the stone from Caen was transported by water to Rattlesden, not far from Stowmarket, and thence was borne on lorries to Bury.

Although the foundations were laid, and the walls begun, so as to indicate roughly the complete design of the basilica as envisaged by the Abbot, the efforts of the sacrists were chiefly directed to the advancement of the eastern part of the building, in order to fit the presbytery for the translation of the Martyr's body. Here, therefore, progress was more rapid, and in the *Gesta Sacristarum* it is claimed that this section of the grand enterprise was fully executed by them. It should, however, be borne in mind that Baldwin's plans for the nave and its aisles and the western façade were at a later date amplified, so that the vast arcade extended for the length, unequalled in any other church in England, of three hundred feet from the western door to the central tower. But some time before the presbytery was

¹ *Registrum Alphanumericum*.

² Mackinlay, *Saint Edmund, King and Martyr*, p. 386.

³ *Register of the Sacrist, and Registrum Nigrum*.

finished the Abbot's friend and patron, King William, had died (1087), and was succeeded by a son upon whom, as upon his Court, not much reliance could be placed. Another event of importance happened a few years afterwards. William de Beaufoy or de Bellafago, who had succeeded Arfast as Bishop of Thetford in 1085, occupied the see but a short time, and died about 1091.¹ He, like Arfast, was a married man; he too was the King's Chaplain and Chancellor, and, having been rewarded by the Conqueror with large estates, was able greatly to enrich both his kinsfolk and his see. He does not appear, however, to have in any way molested S. Eadmund's Abbey. William Rufus now raised to the Bishopric an intimate friend of his, one Herbert of Lothringen or Lorraine, Prior of Fécamp in Normandy. This appointment was deeply tainted with simony, as was also the nomination of Herbert's father Robert to be Abbot of Winchester. The King was greedy, the monk was lavish. But at the very outset of his episcopal career a singular chance suddenly altered his outlook on life and his character. According to a superstitious practice, a prognosis of his episcopate was taken. A book of the Gospels was opened, and the text that first came to hand or eye was selected as furnishing the required auspices. To Herbert's horror the text was the staggering question, 'Amice, ad quid venisti?', Friend, wherefore art thou come? He burst into tears, and confessed that his coming had been brought about by sinful means, and with sinful intent. From that hour, he seems to have cast the slough of his baser life, and when he died, after many years of zealous labours, in 1119, he had quite lived down the opprobrium of his appointment. Passionate, emotional, impetuous, impatient, he probably always was; but his diocese reaped the benefit of his incandescent energy.

To the monks of Bury, however, he did not present so respectable or so agreeable a figure as to other parts of the East Anglian diocese. The monks had two articles of gravamen against him. He did indeed, in 1094, translate his see from Thetford to Norwich, and by doing so may have seemed formally and finally to renounce the pretensions of Arfast to fix the see at Bury, but the obnoxious claim to jurisdiction over the Abbey he still hoped to make good, and being

¹ Blomfield, vol. iii, p. 465.

in Rome in 1101, he endeavoured to obtain Papal Sanction to his scheme. Unluckily he had been made prisoner and detained while on his way, and had been relieved of the suasive gold by which he had intended to recommend his suit. His errand therefore miscarried. A like failure awaited him in the following year, 1102, when in a council held by Anselm Bishop Herbert revived the debate. Like Arfast, he urged his cause with plenty of eloquence, 'satis facunde,' but his pleas were rejected by the whole council, and, adds the chronicler, never again did Herbert venture as long as he lived to mutter a growl against the Church of S. Eadmund.¹

We must return to Bury, and revisit the busy scene where the walls of the minster were fast rising. The labour of the masons must have been checked for a brief space in 1093, when there was brought within the precincts for burial the body of the greatest man in England next to the King. This was Alan Earl of Brittany, 'rutilans a rege secundus,' as his epitaph says.² He was surnamed Niger, or the Black, to distinguish him from his elder brother Earl Alan Rufus or the Red, whom he had succeeded in 1089 in the enjoyment of the vast possessions that William the First had heaped upon the elder Alan in East Anglia and elsewhere. Alan Niger had been a generous benefactor to S. Eadmund's Abbey; and he was laid at first in the open ground near the south door of the Church then being built, but afterwards was brought, at the request of his family and of the monks of S. Mary's, York, which he had erected, within the walls of the Church. There was a third brother, Stephen, who in turn became Earl of Brittany and gave lands in Cambridge for the soul of Alan Niger.³

It may here be convenient to remember that, not long before his death, William the First caused to be made that comprehensive survey of his kingdom of which the results are contained in Domesday Book. Abbot Baldwin, like a good man of business, appears to have utilized the records of the King's scribes and inspectors to compile a sort of minor Domesday dealing with the estates of the Abbey.

Soon after the compilation of Domesday survey, William the First

¹ Bodley 297; Arnold, vol. i, p. 354.

² Arnold, vol i, p. 350.

³ Dr. M. R. James, p. 168.

gave the manors of Lidgate in Suffolk, and Blunham in Bedfordshire, to one Ralph, to hold in fee of the Abbot of S. Eadmund's by the service of Dapifer or Steward, 'Radulpho dapifero praedicti abbatis,' and the charter goes on, 'I will that he hold the same as a great honour, and should be answerable to no one for anything in respect thereof, except by my precept or that of the Abbot his lord'. If we put aside Queen Emma's stewards, Ælfric the son of Withgar, and Ordgar, this is the first mention of the Stewards of the Franchise, the long line of whom continues to this day, though the duties as well as the emoluments of the office have ceased to be.¹ Whether Uvius and Leofstan appointed stewards does not appear.

The grant of King Eadmund to the secular canons of the vill or township of Beaduricesworth, which was taken over by the monks on their introduction early in the reign of Cnut, was not at first distinguishable from any other manorial grant, but gradually the village became a town in the modern sense, and the town became a burh or borough, and what had been the villa acquired a status of freedom, 'villa fuit facta libera'.² 'The townsmen of S. Eadmundsbury held the libertas burgi by the concession of their Lords the Abbots of S. Eadmund's' says Mr. Gage,³ and 'their privileges would seem to have originated with Abbot Baldwin, in the time of King Eadward the Confessor (*Regist. Nig.*, fol. 177 v.). 'In the same reign,' Mr. Gage adds, 'Seynt Eadmunds biri is first substituted for Bedericesworth.' The authority of Mr. Gage is high, but it is right to mention that in Bodley 240⁴ this substitution is attributed to a date soon after the ejection of the seculars, 'statim mutato nomine praeclarius ei nomen inoleret, i.e. "Sancti Eadmundi oppidum,"'—very soon the place changed its name and became known as S. Eadmund's town or bury. That Baldwin was the first author of the 'liberties' of the townfolk is likely enough. He was a man of sagacious discernment, and capable of taking broad views; he was not one to be hidebound to old customs, especially bad and oppressive customs; and in this respect he was far above the generality of the monks, who were too apt to

¹ See Gage's *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brackland*, pp. 116-120.

² *Jocelin*, ed. Gage, p. 75.

³ *ibidem*, p. 148.

⁴ Horstman, vol. ii, p. 604.

insist upon the satisfaction to the letter of dues and claims which in process of time had become vexatious or obsolete. The generous measures of a wise and powerful Abbot, such as Anselm, Ording, or Samson, might for a while soften the relations of town and cowl, notwithstanding the reluctance of his subjects, — ‘nobis autem murmurantibus et grunnientibus’ says Jocelin,¹ on the occasion of the grant of a charter to the burgesses by Samson, —whilst we monks were murmuring and grumbling. But the narrower policy seems to have prevailed, until, after more than one warning of coming catastrophe, the gathered fury of generations burst with seismic violence upon the Abbey in the terrible uprising of 1326-7, and

vi caeca tandem devictus, ad astra
evomuit pastos per saecula Vesbius ignes.

But that outbreak is as yet in the far future. Baldwin has reached the climax of his career, and is approaching the end of his long life. His hair must have become grey, and perhaps thin; his step less buoyant, his energy less keen. But there, in the spacious precincts, is the lofty presbytery, roofed in, and ready for the deposit of the gorgeous shrine and the sacrosanct body which is to repose in it for ages. The Abbot was consequently able to approach William Rufus, and to desire permission for the translation of S. Eadmund’s body, and for the dedication of the new Church. The King at first assented, but afterwards withdrew his sanction to the dedication. The year 1094 passed, neither dedication nor translation had been effected.² The next year a sinister rumour arose among some of William’s courtiers that the Saint’s body was not resting undecayed at Beaduricesworth. There were even those who ventured to express the opinion that the costly ornaments of the shrine should be stripped off, and applied to the pay of soldiers. About this time, to be precise on 25th April 1095, Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and Ranulph the King’s Chaplain came to the martyr’s ‘suburb’, as Herman oddly phrases it. Then somebody happened to suggest that it might be a good thing if during their stay the translation could be carried out. The Bishop and the Chaplain both professed to be agreeable to that

¹ Gage, p. 57.

² Herman ; Arnold, vol. i, p. 86.

proposal. They had the authority of the King for it. Then a slight trouble occurred. Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, had not been invited to take part in these arrangements. He tried to veto them, but was overruled. So on Sunday, 29th April, the rite of translation was performed with becoming solemnity, and at the same time the remains of Botolph the kindly Bishop, and of Jurmin the Confessor, were removed to the minster, in presence of an immense multitude.

There remains but one more thing to be recorded of Abbot Baldwin. In the last days of 1097 he passed to his rest in a good old age, it was believed over eighty years, and was buried in the presbytery of the Church, by the wall behind the small altar in the choir.¹

The abbacy was not filled by William Rufus, who for the rest of his life kept it in his own hands. After three years, the 'tense string' of some unknown man's bow 'murmured'; the arrow flew on its destined way, by chance or by design, and Norman and Englishman alike were freed from the tyranny of a selfish and brutal despot. Henry the First at the outset of his reign gave the preferment to a stripling, Robert, illegitimate son to Hugh, Earl of Chester, ignoring the right of the monks to elect their Abbot. This young man was very soon afterwards deposed, as not having been canonically appointed. Another Robert, a monk of Westminster, was elected in his place. It was during this period of unsettlement, in which the monastery was without an accredited head, that, as was related above, Bishop Herbert made a fresh but futile effort to assert episcopal jurisdiction over the Abbey of Bury.

¹ *Douai Register*, Dr. M. R. James, p. 180.

APPENDIX

NOTE 1 to Page 4. In illustration of the entries relative to the produce rents of the Manors and lands belonging to Bury Abbey the following passage from Hodgkin's Political History of England to 1066 (Longmans, 1906, p. 226), may be quoted:

'In Saxon Britain, as in Frankish Gaul, the King and his chief nobles lived on the produce of their estates, not by drawing half-yearly rents and converting them into money to be spent in their own distant palaces, but by moving about from tun to tun, from vill to vill, and calling upon their tenants for supplies of food which were consumed upon the spot... From an estate of 10 hides the lord was entitled to claim ten vessels of honey, three hundred loaves, twelve *ambers* of Welsh ale, thirty ambers of clear ale, two full-grown oxen, or ten rams, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, a full *amber* of butter, five salmon, twenty pounds weight of fodder, and a hundred eels.

'The *amber* may be taken at 4 bushels, or somewhat less'.

In the case of a stationary community like that of the monks the produce due from tenants would be collected by bailiffs or stewards, or the proprietary rights would be let to a 'farmer'.

NOTE 2 to Page 38. The Pinchbeck Register (Oxford Univ. Press, vol. ii, pp. 282-94) contains a long list of the benefactions to S. Eadmund's church, Priests, and Monks. The compiler notes that in great part the names of the donors have been lost, as many of the endowments were made without written instruments of foundation (p. 282). He says of King Eadwig in particular that he was the giver of most of the lands usually regarded as of uncertain origin, and hints that the charters perished or disappeared at the time when the secular clergy were ejected by Cnut and replaced by monks (p. 284).

NOTE 3 to Page 45. From Mr. Hodgkin's History, p 382, it appears that 'the successive "gafols" paid to the Danes between A.D. 990 and 1015 reached the total of 158,000 pounds of silver. This might

be equivalent to a drain of £8,532,000 of modern money from a thinly peopled and exhausted country. Probably, as the drain went on, the purchasing power of the silver that remained would enormously increase.'

Two questions arise here, (1) whence was to come the white metal to replace the money carried abroad? (2) in the interval would not the progress of the country from what must have become substantially a system of barter to an era of money payments have been seriously retarded? This would perhaps account for the perpetuation of primitive and oppressive customs to which the dependents of Bury Abbey, amongst others, seem to have been subject for a long period. It may be also that the privilege of a mint, granted by Eadward the Confessor, was a factor in the gradual suppression of the noxious customs.

NOTE 4 to Page 55. M. Guizot in his *History of France*, Paris, 1879, vol. i, pp. 350-1 gives the following account of the circumstances in which William the Conqueror sought the assistance of the Bretons in his expedition against England.

'Il fit . . . appel à tous ses voisins, Bretons, Manceaux, Angevins, cherchant des soldats partout où il en pouvait trouver, et promettant à tous ceux qui en voudraient des terres en Angleterre, s'il en faisait la conquête. . . . Pendant que, d'après ses ordres, toute l'expédition, troupes et navires, se réunissait à Dives, il reçut de Conan II, duc de Bretagne, ce message: "J'apprends que tu veux maintenant aller au delà de la mer et conquérir pour toi le royaume d'Angleterre. Au moment de partir pour Jérusalem, Robert, duc des Normands, que tu feins de regarder comme ton père, remit tout son héritage à Alain, mon père et son cousin; mais toi et tes complices vous avez tué mon père par le poison à Vimeux en Normandie; puis tu as envahi son territoire parce que j'étais encore trop jeune pour pouvoir le défendre; et contre tout droit, attendu que tu es bâtard, tu l'as retenu jusqu'à ce jour. Maintenant donc, ou rends-moi cette Normandie que tu me dois, ou je te ferai la guerre avec toutes mes forces".'

William, we are told, was at first disconcerted by this reply, but a Breton noble, who had acted as go-between for William and Conan, contrived to poison Conan, who died soon afterwards.

Discussing the question of William's guilt in this affair, M. Guizot continues :—'Ce qui atténue pourtant le soupçon, c'est qu'après et malgré la mort de Conan plusieurs chevaliers bretons, entre autres deux fils du Comte Eudes, son oncle, se trouvèrent au rendez-vous des troupes normandes, et prirent part à l'expédition.'

The two sons of Count Eudes were Alan Rufus and Alan Niger.

NOTE 5 to Page 56. It may be that the 'Lefstanus dapifer abbas Lefstani' (Pinchbeck Register, vol. ii, p. 290), who conjointly with Stannard gave to S. Eadmund, Whelnetham, Hawstead, Greenfield, and Rothing, was not merely the abbot's personal Steward, but acted as Steward of the Franchise.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

